

VOLUME 279

JANUARY 1952

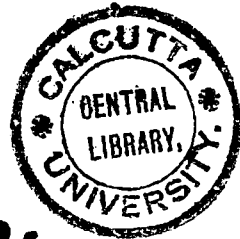
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THE ANNALS

*of The American Academy of Political
and Social Science*

THORSTEN SELLIN, *Editor*

JAMES C. CHARLESWORTH, *Associate Editor*



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SOCIAL CONTRIBUTION BY THE AGING

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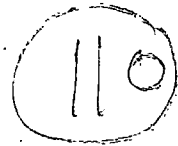
CLARK TIBBITTS, B.S.

Chairman, Committee on Aging and Geriatrics

Federal Security Agency

Washington, D. C.

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PHILADELPHIA

1952

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Introduction: A Philosophy of Aging

By CLARK TIBBITTS and HENRY D. SHELDON



THIS volume has a purpose. The purpose is to present an inventory of the characteristics of aging people, to assess their potentialities for further integration in community life, and to examine the conditions essential to maintaining such integration.

The title of the volume is "Social Contribution by the Aging." The underlying philosophy of all the contributors is (a) that there are positive roles for aging and aged people through which they can make valuable contributions to American society and (b) that these roles offer opportunity for continuing, if not increased, individual satisfaction in the later years. A corollary of this point of view is that assignment of active roles to our older citizens will resolve many of the individual, family, and community problems that have arisen out of the growing number and proportion of older people.

OUR AGING POPULATION

The presentation of statistics on the aging population poses something of a dilemma. On the one hand, it is insisted, with a good deal of justification, that there is no single chronological age above which the population may be regarded as elderly; on the other hand, the specification of such a lower limit is a necessary condition for statistical analysis. This situation is met in part, at least, by the presentation of figures for several age levels.

Preliminary sample data from the 1950 Census indicate that approximately 12 million persons, or about 8 per cent of the total population, were 65 years old and over. The correspond-

ing figures for persons 60 and over were about 18 million, or 12 per cent; for persons 55 and over, 25.5 million, or 17 per cent; and for persons 50 and over, 34 million, or 23 per cent of the total population.

The older population, defined in terms of any of these various levels, is not evenly distributed among all segments of the population. There were, for example, relatively more elderly persons among whites than among nonwhites in 1950. Thus, persons 55 years old and over constituted about 17.5 per cent of the total white population but only 11.5 per cent of the nonwhite population; and for persons 65 and over, the corresponding figures were 8.5 per cent and 5.7 per cent respectively.

The difference in age between whites and nonwhites is reflected in the figures on the geographic distribution of the aging population. In the Northeast, the North Central States, and the West the proportions of persons 55 and over, and 65 and over closely approached the national percentages for these age groups. In the South, where about one-fifth of the population is nonwhite, these proportions were somewhat lower. It was not, however, purely a matter of color. The proportions of persons 55 and over, and 65 and over in the white population of the South were 14.5 per cent and 7.0 per cent respectively, as compared with 17.5 per cent and 8.5 per cent for the total white population.

Variations in the relative number of elderly persons among the states were somewhat greater than among regions. In states such as Iowa and New Hampshire more than 10 per cent of the

population were 65 years old and over, and more than 20 per cent were 55 and over. At the other end of the scale, less than 6 per cent of the population in New Mexico, South Carolina, and North Carolina were 65 and over, and less than 12 per cent were 55 years old and over. In the absence of migration, the older population would be expected to be a relatively small proportion of the population of those states characterized by high fertility and mortality, and a relatively high proportion in those states in which fertility and mortality are low. Such expectations of course must be modified in terms of historical trends in the volume and age distribution of both in-migrants and out-migrants. Since these trends tend to be unique from state to state, there is no general formula for explaining specific differences. It may be noted in passing that in general, elderly persons move less frequently than young adults. Thus, even for states such as Florida and California, which are the most widely recognized destinations for elderly migrants, the impact of large numbers of migrants at the upper age levels on the total age distribution is cushioned by the simultaneous in-migration of larger numbers of young adults.

Among persons 65 and over, the number of women exceeds the number of men by somewhat more than half a million. For every 100 women in this age group there were fewer than 90 men. These figures reflect the fact that death rates, throughout the age scale but particularly at the upper age levels, are higher for males than for females. This higher mortality among males, combined with the tendency of women to marry, on the average, about three years earlier than men, makes widowhood the most characteristic marital status of women 65 and over. In March 1950, slightly more than one-half of the women in this age group were

widowed, whereas less than one-fourth of the men were widowers.

The demographic revolution

The American population of 1950 was a considerably older population than that of 1850. In this hundred-year period the median age increased from 18.9 years to 30.1 years. As the accompanying table indicates, for ages 30 and over, the proportion of persons in the total population at each ten-year interval was greater in 1950 than in 1850, and the relative gain increased progressively with age. Thus, the proportion of persons 40 to 49 years of age in 1950 was about one and one-half times as great as in 1850; the proportion 50 to 59 years, more than twice as great as in 1850; and the proportion 70 years and over, more than three times as great.

The contrast between the age structure of the current population and that of 1850 is apparent from the accompanying chart which presents in graphic form percentage distributions of the population in 1850, 1940, and 1950 by age and sex. The shaded areas in the age intervals for the population 30 and over in the "age pyramids" for 1940 and 1950 represent the relative increases in these intervals over 1850.

This shift in age composition is the result of what has been called the demographic revolution which followed closely upon the heels of the industrial revolution in western Europe and in the United States. The demographic changes involved are revolutionary in the sense that there were unprecedented declines in mortality and in fertility.

In the United States the declining fertility is clearly evidenced by changes in the ratio of children under 5 years of age to women of childbearing age. For the white population, this ratio, adjusted for the underenumeration of children and for shifts in the age distri-

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY AGE AND SEX: 1950 AND 1850

Age and sex	Number		Per Cent	
	1950	1850 ^a	1950	1850
Total	150,697,000	23,191,876	100.0	100.0
Under 10 years	29,565,000	6,743,185	19.6	29.1
10 to 19 years	22,094,000	5,423,744	14.7	23.4
20 to 29 years	23,420,000	4,279,958	15.5	18.5
30 to 39 years	22,794,000	2,827,577	15.1	12.2
40 to 49 years	19,048,000	1,847,806	12.6	8.0
50 to 59 years	15,504,000	1,110,226	10.3	4.8
60 to 69 years	11,010,000	610,301	7.3	2.6
70 years and over	7,262,000	349,079	4.8	1.5
Male	74,633,000	11,837,660	100.0	100.0
Under 10 years	15,126,000	3,412,511	20.3	28.8
10 to 19 years	10,982,000	2,712,898	14.7	22.9
20 to 29 years	11,381,000	2,196,171	15.2	18.6
30 to 39 years	11,211,000	1,491,291	15.0	12.6
40 to 49 years	9,549,000	968,323	12.8	8.2
50 to 59 years	7,644,000	576,131	10.2	4.9
60 to 69 years	5,393,000	309,755	7.2	2.6
70 years and over	3,347,000	170,580	4.5	1.4
Female	76,064,000	11,354,216	100.0	100.0
Under 10 years	14,439,000	3,330,674	19.0	29.3
10 to 19 years	11,112,000	2,710,846	14.6	23.9
20 to 29 years	12,039,000	2,083,787	15.8	18.4
30 to 39 years	11,583,000	1,336,286	15.2	11.8
40 to 49 years	9,499,000	879,483	12.5	7.7
50 to 59 years	7,860,000	534,095	10.3	4.7
60 to 69 years	5,617,000	300,546	7.4	2.6
70 years and over	3,915,000	178,499	5.1	1.6

^a Figures include adjustments for age not reported.

bution of females, dropped from 892 children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women 20 to 44 years old in 1850, to 419 in 1940.¹ This decline was generally continuous, decade by decade, throughout the period. The culmination of this trend is reflected in the census figures for 1930 and 1940; in both of these years the absolute number of children under 5 was less than it had been in the immediately preceding census.

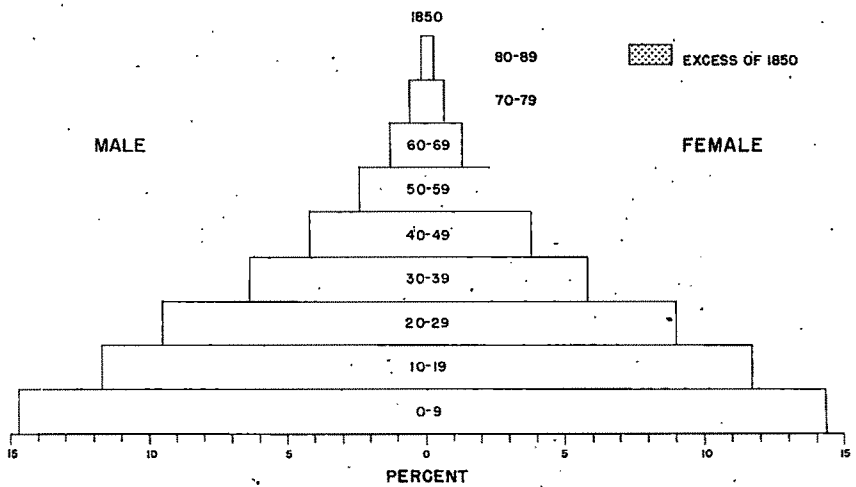
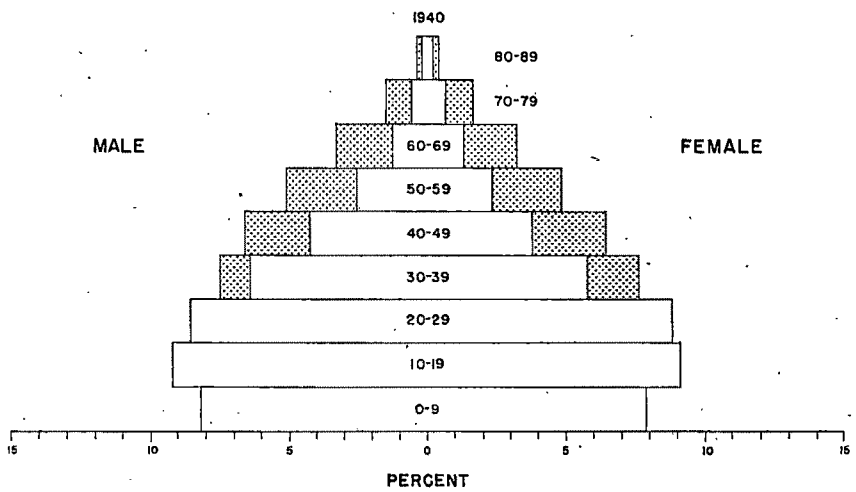
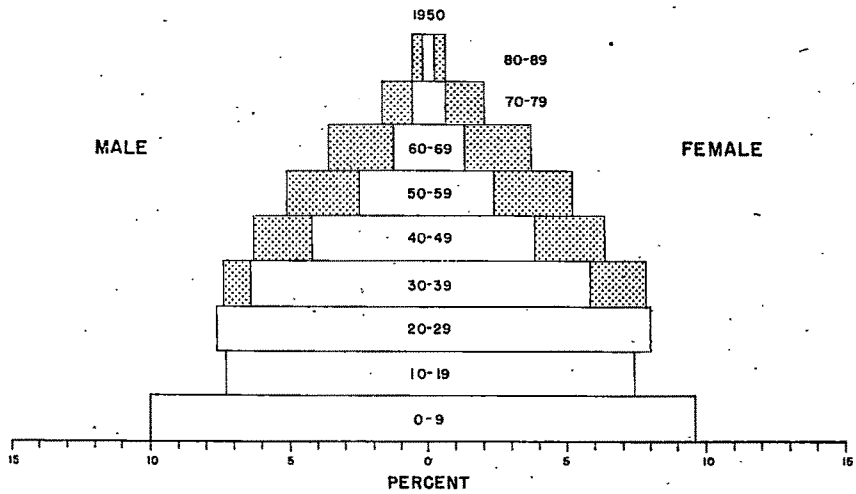
The decline in mortality is reflected in the increasing expectation of life at

birth. The available evidence indicates an expectation of life in the neighborhood of 40 years during the middle of the nineteenth century, whereas by 1949 this figure had increased to 67.6 years. Although a large part of the increase in the expectation of life can be attributed to the reduction in the mortality of children, there has also been an appreciable decrease in the mortality of older persons.

Effect of fertility and mortality changes

The net effect of these changes in fertility and mortality has been to increase the proportion of the total population at the upper age levels. As the birth rate continued to decline, the pro-

¹ P. K. Whelpton, *Forecasts of the Population of the United States, 1945-1975* (U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 16.



POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY AGE AND SEX: 1850, 1940 AND 1950

portion of younger persons decreased and, by default, so to speak, the proportion of older persons increased. The decline in mortality reinforced this trend, not only because of the modest reduction of mortality at the upper age levels, but also because the reduction in mortality at the lower age levels permitted an increasing proportion of persons to survive to the upper age levels. According to mortality rates at the beginning of the century less than 60 per cent of the children born would live to reach the age of 50; whereas by 1948, almost 86 per cent would reach this age.

The increase in the proportion of older persons was augmented by the addition of about 27 million immigrants to the population in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. These immigrants entered the population in large part as young adults, but with the passage of time have moved into the older ages. The effect is particularly marked because immigration has been relatively negligible since 1925, and thus this group has not been replaced at the young adult level.

If the trends in mortality and fertility characteristic of the period prior to 1940 are projected into the future, the proportion of aging persons in the population will continue to increase. The fertility experience of the decade 1940 to 1950, however, raises some questions as to whether a pattern of declining fertility should be projected into the future. During that decade the birth rate rose to about the level of the early twenties, and at the present writing there is no evidence that a return to the low levels of the thirties is imminent. If this pattern of low mortality and high fertility were to continue through the next several decades, it seems probable that the proportion of aging persons would remain roughly at its present level. It may be noted in

this connection that even with the increasing number of births within the past decade, the median age of the population rose from 29.0 years to 30.1 years, and the percentage of persons 60 years old and over rose from 10.4 to 12.1.

Current projections of the population under the assumptions of "high" fertility and "low" mortality indicate for 1960 a population 60 years old and over of 23.5 million or 13.1 per cent of the total population.² Assumptions of "low" fertility and "high" mortality indicate corresponding figures of 22.1 million and 13.7 per cent. What will happen, of course, will depend on the relative magnitude of changes in fertility and mortality, particularly as the latter is related to age. If, for example, real progress is made in reducing mortality from those diseases characteristic of later and middle life, such as heart disease and cancer (and there is evidence in support of this supposition), then substantial increases in the aging population are to be expected both as a proportion of the total population and in absolute numbers.

In view of the fact that elderly persons have become an increasingly large segment of our population, and the probability that their numerical importance will increase, it is particularly fitting at this time to give serious consideration to the development of positive philosophy as to their role in the larger society.

THE CHANGING CONCEPT OF AGING

The point of view expressed at the beginning of this introduction calls for a new concept of aging—a concept that

² Jacob S. Siegel and Helen L. White, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 43, "Illustrative Projections of the Population of the United States 1950 to 1960," U. S. Bureau of the Census, August 11, 1950 (processed).

gives recognition to the positive as well as the negative aspects of maturation. More and more of us are living beyond the period of reproduction and nurture of children and beyond the conventionally defined period of economic usefulness. Hopefully, we have begun to arrest and reverse the attitudes and social practices that have tended to ignore the needs of older individuals and the potentialities for social contribution that lie in these new, later years.

The concept we are outgrowing

The concept of aging which we are outgrowing is based on an assumption of general organic, functional, and psychological deterioration beginning in middle life and proceeding rather rapidly until it becomes disabling and finally incapacitating. Cosmetic changes, deliberation in thought and action, attainment of the status of grandparent, have been taken as signs of advanced age and as indication that the period of usefulness is drawing to a close. Consistent with these beliefs, little or nothing has been expected of older people, and many of them do little or nothing.

Looking back, it is not difficult to see the origin of the attitudes that have tended toward regard of older people as superfluous. The country was shifting to an industrial economy in a period when youth was plentiful and when comparatively few people lived beyond the 50's or early 60's. Industry required great strength and long hours of work. Young, strong bodies were needed and were available. There were relatively few old people because childhood diseases, the infectious diseases of early adulthood, and the accidents of childbirth took off a good many before middle age.

Increasing application of machines and power produced more goods than purchasing power could absorb, and

simultaneously shortened the work week. The birth rate continued to decline and operate as a further check on the total capacity of the country to consume the industrial output. Thus, when a plethora of workers developed in the 1930's it was the older ones (along with the very young) whose services were eschewed.³

With industrialization has come urbanization and other new ways of life. Oriented toward work outside of the home and toward educational and social activities provided by community agencies, the large, self-sufficient, consanguineal type of family has begun to give way to the two-generation, conjugal group in which grandparents have no positive role.⁴ As one consequence, most urban housing has been designed for two generations and does not meet either the space or psychological needs of children, middle-aged, and grandparents trying to continue on in the family group.

The mobility of the American people has furthered the separation of the adult generations. Likewise, fewer children per family and longer-lived parents in the new type of economy have made it more difficult for the middle generation to provide for both their own young children and their aging parents. Faced with the necessity of choosing, it has favored the children and left it to the community to look after the parents.

Our first attempt at adaptation to aging, then, was to set older people

³ E. W. Burgess, "The Growing Problem of Aging," in *Living Through the Older Years* (C. Tibbitts, Ed.), Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949; and Philip M. Hauser, "Social Implications of an Aging Population," presented at the Northwestern University Fourth Centennial Conference, Chicago, June 7, 1951.

⁴ Wilbert E. Moore, "The Aged in Industrial Societies," in *The Aged and Society*, Champaign, Ill.: Industrial Relations Research Association.

aside as no longer useful but, having made their contributions, as entitled to withdraw and enjoy the leisure of their declining years. Private and public pension systems and grants-in-aid appeared and tended to formalize retirement in the seventh decade of life. We even talked of lowering the age when it should become financially feasible to do so.

In voluntary activities, too, we frequently encouraged older people to give way to an oncoming generation eager for advancement and for opportunity to try out new ideas. In consequence, although with tongue in cheek, we undertook to establish behavior patterns for older people, organized around hobbies, fishing, and reflection. Lacking suitable housing facilities, we consigned the older generation to corner rocking chairs, to lifeless rooming houses, and even to mental hospitals.

✓To a degree, older people have accepted the concept of limited usefulness, but they have not been satisfied.

✓There is, in fact, evidence of a good deal of dissatisfaction.⁵ There is ample evidence of their bewilderment and feeling of insecurity in a fast-moving world that has failed to provide assurance of income and opportunity for obtaining normal satisfactions and for making continuing contributions to community life.⁶

We are now beginning to question the validity of earlier assumptions and the attitudes and practices they led us into. In two nation-wide meetings within recent months—the National Conference on Aging called by the Federal Security Agency, and the Second International Gerontological Congress—

along with scores of state and local meetings, hundreds of people have begun to explore the nature and the implications of both individual and population aging and are reaching new understanding. This volume, in a fairly real sense, presents the status of current thinking on the subject.

The nature of aging

The aging process is now under intensive study in the laboratory, in the clinic, and in the field. Enough is known to characterize it as a process involving numerous interrelated elements, biological, psychological, and sociological in nature. Aging per se is so complicated with disease processes on the one hand and with the restrictions of culturally assigned roles on the other that it is difficult as yet to describe or measure it with any degree of confidence.

Biological aging is described by Dr. Carlson and Dr. Stieglitz in this volume and by Shock and others, largely in terms of tissue desiccation and lowered rate of oxidation, cellular atrophy, and decrease in elasticity and strength of tissue and muscle. It has been shown, also, that the process is a very gradual one, that it differs widely among individuals, and that there are variations in the rate of aging of different organ systems within the same individual.⁷

It appears on the basis of recent research that the rate of biological aging may be subject to some control through reduction of the insults of disease, through nutrition, and through modification of endocrine function. Thus the period of vigor may be extended into the period now regarded as old age. Indeed it has probably already been

⁵John Frank Schmidt, "Patterns of Poor Adjustment in Old Age," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 57, No. 1, July 1951.

⁶Robert T. Monroe, *Diseases in Old Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), Chap. 14.

⁷Nathan W. Shock, "Biology of Aging," in *Problems of America's Aging Population*, a report of the First Annual Southern Conference on Gerontology, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951.

extended. Furthermore, since most human tasks are being lightened, it is virtually certain that, in biological terms, potential usefulness is being prolonged. A good deal of physiological decline, in fact, may have very little significance in the light of our ability to match individual traits with job requirements and to adjust requirements to specific capacities.

Psychological aging is being studied with reference to sensory and perceptual processes, motor ability, general intelligence, learning and memory, vocabulary, personality, and adjustment. Studies reveal measurable declines in the capacities that have a clear organic base, as is indicated in Dr. Kaplan's article. It is too early to come to definite conclusions regarding traits such as intelligence, learning, and vocabulary, because of their relationship to other factors, including occupation, education, and extent of activity or use. One specialist in the field, Dr. Donahue, has made the cogent suggestion that it may be impossible to measure changes in certain of the mental characteristics until a sizable group in the population is able to experience normal, active aging.⁸ Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that mental functioning can persist into advanced years. The variations and differentials found in biological traits are present also in the psychological sphere.⁹

Sociologically, aging is partly a function of one's situation and partly of the attitudes and folkways of the society in which one lives, as is clearly shown in the article by Professor Simmons. Socially defined roles that encourage the individual to withdraw from participation and to submit his affairs to the management of others make him aware that he has entered a new phase of life.

⁸ Wilma T. Donahue, "Psychological Aspects of Aging," *ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

Situationally, aging has its onset during the 40's and 50's when offspring begin to fend for themselves and to require less parental attention. The problem (or opportunity) of utilizing leisure time is increased when children leave home altogether. Similarly, as Professor Burgess shows, the need for companionship or close ties becomes still more acute with the passing of husband or wife, relatives, and close friends.

Sociological and psychological aging advance still further when retirement from work comes and when infirmity or long-term illness reduces mobility. Here needs for useful activity and social participation assert themselves, along with problems of financial security, medical care, and suitable living arrangements.

Despite the variety of factors involved, it must be apparent that the possibilities of arresting the sociological aging process are at least as great as those in the biological and psychological areas. Social attitudes that define aging are clearly susceptible of change, and healthy adjustment can be made to some of the events or crises of the later years.

The new concept

Here, then, lies the challenge of aging, both individually and socially. There are organic and mental changes characteristic of aging. They are gradual, however, and need constitute little or no serious impairment until much later than has been commonly supposed. There are situational changes to which adjustment can be made and some of which offer new opportunities.

Attainment of middle age may be viewed as bringing us to the threshold of a new phase of life—a phase that can represent a new stage of development, growth, maturity, and social contribution. Freed to an increasing extent from the responsibilities of early adult-

hood, we find ourselves ready to make further and broader contributions to the social welfare, effective because they grow out of half a century of experience gained through living. And this, we submit, is the role older people would choose for themselves. Dr. Havighurst shows, beyond question, that older people want activity, friendships, emotional security, a sense of usefulness. Socially, our aging people constitute a huge natural resource eager to be exploited.

AREAS OF CONTRIBUTION

Part II of the present volume discusses the question of continued participation in gainful employment. Miss Bancroft describes the current situation and discusses trends and prospects, after which Mr. Abrams analyzes existing barriers to increased participation. The views of management, labor, and the farmer are given in a series of shorter essays under the general title "Should There be a Fixed Retirement Age?"

Part III is concerned with potentialities for contributions in other spheres. Mr. Wheeler, an older man himself, discusses the desire for continued contributory status and the creative potential behind it. Miss Bunker outlines the opportunities and satisfactions in creative handcrafts. The Ogdens describe the potential roles of older people in community life. Professor Burgess considers the older person as a family member and points out that we need much more information in this area.

THE ENVIRONMENT OF AGING

The reader who has come this far and who traverses the first three sections of this volume will recognize that the environment of aging has a good deal to do with the aging process itself and with the extent to which the aging

person may remain an active member of society.

Section IV is devoted to consideration of the conditions that need to be provided for maintenance of function and contributory status. The point of view of the several contributors, Dr. Wilma Donahue, Dr. Hertha Kraus, Miss Dorothea Ramsey, Miss Mary Switzer and Dr. Howard Rusk, Mr. Wilbur Cohen, Mr. Harry Levine, and Mr. Charles Odell, is that most older people can and will maintain themselves as self-sufficient members of society once they are given the opportunity. Thus, education, housing, community services, health promotion and rehabilitation, income maintenance, activity programs, and employment counseling are seen as just normal community facilities, as are elementary, secondary, and college education, pediatric clinics, vocational counseling, playgrounds, and clubs for children and young adults. They are not to be regarded primarily as welfare services in the sense of ministering to psychologically, medically, and financially dependent old people, but rather as part of the environment through which we make normal adjustments to the changes and circumstances of the later years.

This is not to say that health, welfare, and custodial facilities will not be required for the sizable number of people who have reached and will reach the later stages of infirmity or disease. While, under the new concept, increasing numbers will die in harness, there will still be need for infirmaries, nursing homes, long-stay hospital annexes, and other forms of intensive assistance. But even these facilities are now recognizing the contributory potential of older people and are beginning to develop sheltered workshops, community activity centers, and programs for the homebound.

There is one final thought. Tradition-

ally, families and employers have tried to assume direct responsibility for the well-being of the older population. The new concept, which makes functional citizens of the aging, places responsibility for provision of the environment and services on the entire community. Increasingly, the middle generation will discharge its responsibilities to the older generation through support of community services. When those of us in the middle generation, who are also aging, see ourselves and our parents as satisfied, useful members of society, self-managing and self-sufficient, we shall lose the bewilderment, the fear, and the feelings of guilt that characterize the older members of an aging population. Our attitudes and our culture are now in a stage of transition. In developing the programs for financial security, for independent living and activity, for service to society, as outlined in Section IV, we are adopting the new philosophy.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The plans for this issue of THE ANNALS were developed with the assistance of the members of the Federal Security Agency's Committee on Aging and

Geriatrics. The committee is an advisory body designed to assist and to promote co-operative activities among federal agencies that have programs that affect the well-being of the aging. It seeks to develop a keener recognition by government and by the public of the special needs and problems of the aging, and to foster the development of programs for their solution.

The Special Editor wishes to acknowledge the help given by Dr. Lewis Rohrbaugh, Dr. Carl C. Taylor, Dr. Esther Phipard, Mrs. Lydia Lynde of the Department of Agriculture; Dr. Henry Sheldon, Department of Commerce; Dr. Leonard Silk, Housing and Home Finance Agency; Mr. Charles Odell, Mrs. Pearl Ravner, Miss Helen Ringe of the Department of Labor; and from the Federal Security Agency the help of Dr. Homer Kempfer, Office of Education; Mr. Irving Ladimer, Dr. J. W. Mountin, Dr. Benjamin Shimmerberg, and Dr. C. J. Van Slyke, Public Health Service; Mr. Jacob Fisher, Miss Rose McHugh, and Miss Naomi Riches, Social Security Administration; and Mrs. Phyllis Frances and Mr. Donald Dabelstein, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation.

Clark Tibbitts, Washington, D. C., is chairman of the Federal Security Agency's Committee on Aging and Geriatrics. He has been connected with the United States Public Health Service; was director of the Institute for Human Adjustment at the University of Michigan; directed the National Conference on Aging in 1950; and served as vice president of the Second International Gerontological Congress in 1951. He is coeditor, with Wilma T. Donahue, of Living Through the Older Years, Planning the Older Years, and Growing in the Older Years.

Henry D. Sheldon, Ph.D., Washington, D. C., is chief of the Demographic Statistics Section of the Population and Housing Division, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. He has served as statistician with primary responsibility for institutional statistics and statistics on nativity and parentage with the Bureau of the Census and has published a number of analyses in these fields.

Social and Psychological Needs of the Aging

By ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST

IN considering the needs of older people it is well, first, to remember that older people have the needs that are common to all people, and, second, that they have special needs due to the fact that they are old people.

The needs which are common to all people are: (1) emotional security and affection, met by receiving love and by living in a world where things are predictable and come out usually in a favorable or at least tolerable way; (2) social recognition and status, met by receiving respect from people who count in one's world; (3) a sense of worth and self-respect, met by living up to one's ideals; (4) adequate food, clothing, shelter, and health.

Whenever these common needs are not met as well as people have grown accustomed to expect, there is a social problem. If we have a social problem of old age today, it is because these needs are not being met adequately in the lives of many older people.

Why are these needs not met as well for older people as they are for middle-aged people in our society? The reasons lie in the fact that both the human body and the human society systematically "insult" the person as he grows older and make it difficult for him to meet his needs.

HOW OLD AGE INSULTS THE PERSON¹

Loss of physical attractiveness. Most of us, men as well as women, learn to

¹ The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Dr. Jack Weinberg for this concept of the insults due to aging. See Weinberg's "Mental Health Needs of the Aged" in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1948 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 403-409.

place a high value upon our beauty and our strength. At the very least, we value highly our physical and mental vigor, our ability to do a hard day's work. In addition, most of us value our manliness or womanliness—the things that make us attractive to the other sex. Against these values the advancing years wage war. They rob a woman of her ability to have children, usually before she is fifty. Many women interpret this as a sign that they have lost much of their worth as women. Men do not fare much better. Already in the forties most of them lose much of their hair, grow fat in awkward places, and have to wear bifocal glasses. Both sexes lose the smooth skin that they value highly as a sign of youth. Then as the years go on, there is a real decrease of enjoyment of the physical aspects of love between the sexes, and finally the external sense organs of hearing and sight begin to lose their acuity.

These insults to the self usually strike us in vulnerable places. We express it by saying that we do not like to grow older—but what we really mean is that we have invested a great deal of emotional capital in our physical attractiveness, and this investment is going bad on us.

Loss of supporting persons. As if this were not enough to do to us, advancing years also rob us of the people who could best reassure us that we are still attractive people, worthy to be loved. Death of husband or wife, and loss of old friends, leave us without emotional support just when we most need it.

Loss of status. In spite of inevitable loss of physical attractiveness due to middle age, most of us get along very

well with the status and prestige and power of middle age. At this age we are usually at the peak of our ability to work, we are as well off financially as we shall ever be. More people look up to us than ever before. Then we begin to lose these things. Younger people come along and take the lead away from us in our social and civic organizations. We are no longer in line for promotion in our business. And the crowning blow of all may come in the form of forced retirement from work at a time when we need more than ever to have the assurance that we still count for something in the world. In addition, to some people old age means economic dependency. They are no longer able to support themselves, and must take a status of old-age pensioner which many of them have thought to be an unworthy status.

Loss of useful and respected roles. The status-giving roles begin to disappear. We lose our hold on work, the principal status-giving role for men in middle age. A woman who has become the mother of an attractive group of sons and daughters sees them depart from the home, and one day she finds that people have forgotten what a fine mother she has been. Leadership roles in civic and political and social life are taken over by younger people. There is left the custom of respecting older people for what they once were, not for what they are. A few specific roles of older people become available, and have some value, such as those of grandparent, world traveler, village sage. But these are usually poor substitutes for the roles we have lost.

Lessening of physical health and vigor. When we have asked people in their sixties what they feared most about old age, a great many of them have said they were afraid their bodies would fail them and they would become helpless. At the very least they must

anticipate a decreased physical vigor, but this could be tolerable if it were a slow, predictable change. What undermines emotional security is the fear that one may suffer a heart attack which will leave one an invalid, or that a crippling arthritis may come on, or that cancer may develop insidiously.

DEVELOPMENTAL NEEDS OF OLDER PEOPLE

The aging body conspires with society's youth-favoring attitudes and practices to create a set of special needs of older people. Because these needs are part of the process of human development, it is well to call them "developmental needs" and to regard them in somewhat the same positive light with which we regard the developmental needs of youth and middle adulthood.

These developmental needs pose learning problems that are fully as complex as any problems faced during a lifetime. In fact, later maturity requires more learning of most people than they have had to achieve since their early adulthood. They meet more new and strange and difficult situations as older people than they have met as middle-aged people.

Later maturity is, then, a period of learning, rather than a period when learning is past. It is a period of facing new and unsolved problems, rather than a period of floating gently on the surface of familiar solutions to familiar problems. Everybody during the age period from 60 to 75 experiences several of the following developmental needs:

Adjustment to death of spouse

Often in our research we hear a man or woman say, "I hope when my wife (husband) dies I can go too. Life won't be worth while after that." This expresses the fear that a man or woman

has, after living forty or fifty years with a marital partner, of having to face life without the partner. A man and wife become so thoroughly wedded that they work out a single life pattern which cannot go on when one of them drops out.

Getting along without one's spouse is usually a woman's task in the United States, because men die younger than women, and women tend to marry older men. The average woman becomes a widow before she is 70. The average man does not lose his wife until he is 85.

If a woman loses her husband, she may have to move from her house to a smaller place, she may have to learn about business matters, and, above all, she has to learn to be alone. A man has the same adjustment to make to loneliness, and he may have to learn to cook, to keep house, and to keep his clothes in order.

The solutions of this task run through the range of living on alone in the old home, moving into a small home, living in a rooming house, moving in with brothers or sisters, living with children, remarrying, going to an old people's home. Every solution requires unlearning of old ways and learning of new ways, at a time when learning comes harder than it did in earlier years.

Adjustment to loss of employment and reduced income

In the American society a job is the axis of life for most men and for many women. If the occupation goes, the individual feels that he does not count, that he is not a worthy member of society. Yet the occupation must be abandoned by the great majority of people, whether they be professional or manual workers, sometime between 60 and 70. Half of American men quit work by the age of 65.

Some people fill up the vacuum

created by retirement in their lives with a useful and interesting leisure-time activity; others find a part-time job which keeps them busy and happy; too many fret and mope over their forced inactivity.

When retirement also means a serious reduction in income, another adjustment problem appears—that of reducing expenditures—which often means a narrowing of contacts. For instance, an elderly lady feels that she must drop out of the church ladies' circle because she cannot pay her dues. An old man must drop out of his lodge just at a time when he has increased leisure.

Affiliation with the age group of elders

Try as one may to keep young and to avoid being classed with the "elders," the day must come to everyone when he says to himself, "I'm not as young as I used to be. I'd better *be* my age." This day is brought on by the fact that the costs of continued participation in the middle-age group rise more rapidly than the gains. The costs consist of fatigue due to the too rapid tempo of middle life; embarrassment at being unable to keep up, physically and financially and vocationally, with the middle-age group; and a feeling of being ignored or pushed aside by younger people.

Over against these costs are the rewards of participation in the older-age group, such as a more comfortable tempo of life; ease of finding companionship among other people who have leisure time; availability of positions of prestige and leadership in organizations of older people.

Adjustment to decrease of physical vigor

The human body ages in almost every one of its cells and cellular systems. The cells gradually lose their self-repairing properties. They slow

down in their nutritional processes. The senses lose their acuity. In at least a third of the people, heart disease comes on slowly and cuts down their ability to do hard work. The individual must learn a new way of life that is in harmony with his decreased strength and health.

Making satisfactory physical living arrangements

The high incidence of heart disease and "rheumatism" in older people makes physical exertion difficult or dangerous for many of them, and argues against stair climbing and heavy housework. There is increasing danger from falls, due to the increasing brittleness of bones and their slow mending rates. A decreasing ability to masticate foods, with an increasing need for a good diet, makes good selection and preparation of food necessary. Decreasing metabolic ability of the body makes it difficult for older people to keep warm, and requires good heating facilities.

The principal values that older people look for in housing, according to studies of this matter, are: quiet, privacy, independence of action, nearness to relatives and friends, residence among own cultural group, cheapness, closeness to transportation lines and communal institutions—libraries, shops, motion pictures, churches, and so forth.

These values vary for different people. Most older people tend to cling to established housing arrangements until they become very unsatisfactory. Yet residential mobility is high, especially among the very old. Thus, living on in the familiar quarters one has known for years is not the most common solution of the problem. The older person has to decide whether to: live on in a large and increasingly burdensome house or find a smaller and more manageable place; live on alone in the old house after death of the spouse

or find smaller and more convenient quarters; live alone or with one or more other people; stay in the community where he has lived as an adult or move to a place with a better climate.

GROUP NEEDS OF OLDER PEOPLE

If older people are to meet their developmental needs in satisfying ways, they must have a certain minimum of help, in the form of attitudes and services, from the community in which they live. As a group, older people have the following needs:

Satisfactory social roles, which bring social recognition and self-respect. It lies within the power of the individual to create for himself some of the satisfying social roles, such as those of friend, member of a social clique, constructive user of leisure time, informed citizen, active church member; and therefore the individual is responsible to that degree for his own happiness. But some significant social roles are denied to many older people by the community. For example, the role of worker may be denied through the practice of arbitrary retirement or prejudice against hiring older workers. Since to most people work has certain personal satisfactions as well as the purely economic meaning, the assurance of economic security does not take the place of the worker's role.

A chance to earn a living, or economic security. Older people need economic security, but under existing conditions relatively few of them can live in reasonable comfort on their own lifetime savings. Hence they need work, if they are able to work, or a system of pensions which gives them reasonable economic security.

Social and recreational facilities. Just as the community provides recreational facilities and leadership to meet the needs of youth, so it should meet the needs of older people with analo-

gous facilities through municipal recreation departments, churches, schools, and clubs. At a minimum, the older people require meeting places, equipment for games, leadership for group recreation, and instructions in arts and crafts.

Health services. The one set of eventualities that few older people can prepare for is the chance of ill health with need for expensive medical services. This need is not met by a comfortable pension or modest savings or the willingness of grown children to help when they have families of their own to support. For older people there should be a guaranteed health service to which they can turn as a matter of right. Whether this is financed through an insurance company or through a public-supported fund is not here an issue.

WAYS OF MEETING PERSONAL NEEDS

When the community has done its share toward meeting the needs of older people, the main burden still falls upon the individual himself. He must learn a way of life appropriate to his years and his strength. He must erect his own defenses against the insults of aging.

In general, the individual has a choice of two kinds of defense—the irrational and the rational.

Irrational defenses

If one has great difficulty in meeting one's developmental needs due to the insults and deprivations of aging, one is quite likely to adopt certain defenses which seem to other people to be irrational. There are several types:

Memories and fantasies. Since the present is uncomfortable and the future does not seem to promise much, it is natural for the self to turn to the past and dwell on the pleasures and triumphs

of bygone days. Why think about today's fading beauty when one can live over in retrospect the parties and the dances when one was the most beautiful, the most charming of persons? Why worry about the complaints that are being made about one's work today when one can remember the days when one was the most productive and successful of workers? And if the reality of yesterday was not rosy enough, one can add color in one's fantasies. One can imagine that one had a dozen beaux and all handsome and dashing, instead of the one or two plain and conservative boys that came around for Saturday night dates. One can imagine that one had a fine, profitable business and many civic responsibilities, instead of the struggling little shop that was always on the verge of bankruptcy.

Regression to infancy. When the present reality becomes very unpleasant, one can rediscover a long-forgotten solace—that of becoming an infant again. Usually this is outgrown about the age of eight or ten, when a boy or girl becomes independent enough and mature enough to take the bad things of life without crying in mother's lap. Then, fifty or sixty years later, the long-forgotten way of escaping from hard reality may come back to one. As an elderly person one may revert to infantile behavior. One may become dependent for feeding and dressing upon another person. One may go to bed and stay there as much as possible. If one is denied the normal adult sexual outlets, particularly if one is a man, one may revert to infantile sexual behavior.

Loss of hearing, sight, and memory. Since the present is becoming uncomfortable, one may commence to shut it out by becoming "hard of hearing," "forgetful," and dim-sighted. This is not to say that people do not actually

suffer a decrease of hearing and of visual acuity, and brain damage which possibly results in forgetfulness. But the actual biological changes of aging are not always responsible for the changes in older people in the behavior of hearing, seeing, and remembering. Sometimes an older person gets a reputation for being hard of hearing, and people converse in his presence in ordinary tones about things they do not want this person to hear. Just then the elderly person is likely to hear what is being said, and people complain, "He hears what he shouldn't hear." If it is convenient to forget an appointment or to overlook a task one does not wish to do, an older person may forget such things and yet remember events of yesteryear with clear fidelity.

Hallucinations. Sometimes a woman who has lost her husband or a man who has lost his wife will go on talking to the absent loved one. Why not? It is a pleasure to have someone to talk to. So why not go on talking to the people one loved? If one listens carefully, one may hear them reply; and so a person living alone may converse a great deal with absent persons. Then when someone—a son or daughter—notices this, that person becomes disturbed and goes to a doctor and says, "My old mother (father) is having hallucinations." Yet when a child discovers what we call an imaginary playmate, which often happens with only children or first children, and carries on long conversations with that imaginary person, the parents are often quite proud, and they say, "My, what a good imagination that child has!"

These are some of the irrational but natural defenses that a self may muster to meet the insults of old age. They are not morally wrong, but they are not particularly useful. At best, they tend to be an escape from reality.

Rational defenses

On the other hand, there are some rational, or positive, defenses, which actually make for a happier and more highly approved life.

Good care of one's body. It is possible for most people to retain a good proportion of their adult vigor and physical attractiveness if they make an effort. A person can see his doctor for a medical examination once or twice a year. He can eat a balanced diet containing adequate amounts of protein and plenty of minerals and vitamins. It seems possible that older people will more and more take medicines of certain hormones, to keep themselves vigorous and alert.

A man as well as a woman can pay attention to grooming. Older people should dress more carefully than younger ones, because they can thereby make better use of their physical attractiveness. There are few women, for example, who do not have the possibility of attractive hair as they grow older. Few men have the advantage of a magnificent head of white or gray hair, but they can dress carefully, select neckties with care, and perhaps add little affectations such as pocket handkerchiefs and gaily colored socks.

New friends. When one's old friends disappear, one can find new ones. One can join new social groups. If husband or wife dies, one can marry again.

Interests in civic and community affairs. Who can make a better citizen, ideally, than a man or woman with time for study of civic problems and for community service, and with the wisdom of maturity? Older persons can read more thoroughly, can explore into complex political and economic problems more clearly, and should vote more intelligently than younger people.

New leisure-time activities and hob-

bies. When the extra time gained from retirement or reduction of hours at work gives the opportunity, a person can do things which he wanted to do during middle age but for which he could not find the time. Travel is one possibility, arts and crafts are another, so are gardening, reading, collecting, and other pursuits.

Release of one's children. Some-time during middle age, parents should set their children free and expect that henceforth their relations will be on the basis of mutual respect and mutual consideration, and no longer on the emotional basis of a dominant parent and a dependent child. Once this has been accomplished, a parent is in a position to make whatever arrangements are appropriate for living with or not living with grown children, for supporting grown children or being supported by them or being financially independent of them. Too many parents go into their later years quite unprepared to meet their grown children on a grown-up basis.

Avoidance of reminiscence. An insidious habit is that of telling stories about the olden days as a means of

"entertaining" younger people. It is so obviously enjoyable to an old-timer to recall and recount events of great importance that occurred before his listeners were born that he must be warned against and almost prohibited from engaging in this pleasant vice. Young people simply are not interested, unless they are very young. A good rule to follow is to tell stories of the past only to people under eight years old or to people one's own age. Another good rule is to listen to other people's reminiscences two hours for every hour one asks them to listen.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion is inescapable that the individual, if he is to be reasonably happy and secure in his later years, must himself find rational and practicable ways of meeting his needs. No one else can do it for him. One's old age is what one makes it. But in modern America the community must carry the responsibility of creating conditions that make it possible for the great majority of older people to lead the independent and emotionally satisfying lives of which they are capable.

Robert J. Havighurst, Ph.D., Chicago, Illinois, has been professor of education and chairman of the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago since 1940, and is also chairman of that university's Committee for the Study of Later Maturity. He was formerly director for general education with the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation. His research activities have been in the social psychology of adolescence and of later maturity. He is co-author of Who Shall Be Educated (1944), Father of the Man (1947), Adolescent Character and Personality (1949), Personal Adjustment in Old Age (1949), and a forthcoming book, Older People.

Physiological Changes in Aging

By ANTON J. CARLSON and EDWARD J. STIEGLITZ

THE sciences of biology and medicine have not yet reached the stage when a comprehensive factual chapter on the physiology of aging can be written. At the end of an excellent review of the biochemical aspects of aging, McCay concluded that "almost nothing is known of the biochemistry of aging."¹ The physiologist and clinician need not be quite so pessimistic.

AGING DEFINED

Aging may be defined briefly as that element in life pertaining to the passage of time. Thus, living is inseparable from aging. Aging begins with conception and terminates only with death. As aging is a part of living, it can never be arrested without ending life. However, this does not imply that the complex and interrelated changes which are consequent to the passage of time in the living organism are not amenable to alteration. There is hope that in the future medical science may be able to retard the rate of aging change and/or alter its consequences.

It must be emphasized that although aging is a continuous process, beginning with the onset of a new organism, the rate of change is not uniform throughout the life span. Changes occur much more rapidly early in life, and as the organism grows older the rate of change declines. Furthermore, there is great variation in the rate of aging change and in the character of aging between different species of organisms. It is well known that the white rat at 300 days of life is the biological equivalent of a human being at

30 years of life; a 600-day-old white rat is the biological equivalent of a 60-year-old man.

Even within the same species there is considerable variation in the rate of aging change between different individuals. All of us are aware of the fact that we know people who are biologically, mentally, and functionally relatively young at 70 and others who are relatively senile in their early 50's.

Most interesting of all is the extraordinary asymmetry which takes place within the individual organism as to the rate of aging change. It can be said that none of us are of the same age throughout the organism. Different structures age at different rates at different times in the life span. This is beautifully illustrated by the accelerated changes which take place in the organs of reproduction at the time of puberty and at the time of climacteric, although the rest of the individual does not show parallel accentuation of change in other structures, functions, and capacities.

Aging involves two essentially antagonistic processes. As aging begins with conception, growth or evolution is included, as well as atrophy or involution. These two phenomena take place simultaneously throughout life. In youth growth and development predominate, but even as early as within embryonic life atrophic changes occur. The atrophy and involution of gill clefts in the mammalian embryo is an example in point. Similarly, growth continues until the end of life, though in the senescent period atrophy or involution predominates. The hair, the jaw, and all cellular replacements are examples of continued growth up to the

¹ From Clive McKay in *Problems of Aging*, edited by E. V. Cowdry, 2d ed., 1942.

moment of death. With the exception of a few cells of the central nervous system, none of the cells of our body are so old as the whole organism. The tissue cells are being constantly replaced by new cell growth. The ultimate understanding of aging must wait upon such a time as we comprehend fully the forces which accelerate and/or retard growth in contrast to atrophy.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS BLENDED

Many age changes in the animal body have been clearly established. The genesis of these age changes in structure and function is still obscure. We are not yet in position to determine, with the certainty of science, to what degree the changes in the machinery of the body which parallel advancing age are due to the genetic constitution of the individual and of the species—or, to state it differently, the aging process per se—and how much they are due to the vicissitudes of living, such as faulty diets, infections, intoxications, traumata, emotional stresses, overwork, laziness, or gluttony. As regards determination of the typical life span of a species, plant or animal, the genetic constitution undoubtedly plays a primary role, for on no other basis can we account for the fact that some species of plants live only one year or less, and other species live several thousand years. Disease and other exigencies of living cannot account for such great differences in life span in plants, nor can they account, in our judgment, for similar differences in animals.

Certainly, as regards the study of the aging processes in human beings it is impossible, now and in the future, completely to separate the consequences of aging, as defined as due purely to the passage of time, from the results of various accumulative insults which are part of living. An attempt to do so would in-

volve complete isolation of an individual from all sources of injury, infections, intercourse with other human beings, and the like. Such a dreadfully specialized, sheltered, laboratory-controlled type of environment would not represent what we think of as living, but merely existing. Under these circumstances the psychological elements of extreme loneliness, isolation, and purposelessness would create an individual by no means normal. Therefore, it is to some degree academic and theoretical to attempt to distinguish between the changes in structure and function which occur as a result of aging per se and those which occur as a result of the experiences characteristic and inevitable in a so-called normal life.

It is notable that no two individuals undergo identical experiences during the course of their lives. Not only are their experiences, in the form of infections, fatigue and intoxications, emotional battles within themselves and in interpersonal relationships, different in character, but they differ in severity and in sequence. Even if we had two individuals who had suffered from identical diseases, let us say measles, scarlet fever, chicken pox, lobar pneumonia in the right lower lobe of the lung, these would not necessarily have occurred in the identical sequence or in the same severity, and thus their effects-upon the organism would differ. The significant conclusion is that we are what we are today, to a great degree, because of what happened to us in our yesterdays, and no two people have had identical sequences of yesterdays. Furthermore, the effect of all these experiences increases with age, because they accumulate.

Importance of constitutional factor

There is growing evidence that hereditary constitution is also a factor in the life span of specific individuals

within a given species, irrespective of ignorance, faulty diets, and other accidents in the life of the individual. This appears also to be true in the life span of individual organs or systems within the unitary organism. For while it is true that faulty diets, infections, and other factors may hasten the atrophy of the ovaries in primates and thus bring on premature menopause, and that similar accidents and diseases may hasten the loss of elasticity in the lens of the eye, it is nevertheless true that these changes occur so consistently at fairly well demarcated periods in the life span that these typically early involutions can hardly be accounted for solely by the accidents and stress in the life of an individual. The relative and typical life spans of these two organ systems must be determined by some peculiar and obscure physiological time clock inherent within some particular genes of the hereditary constitution.

Other organ systems of the body reveal impairment of function so insidiously and gradually (at least in all cases where the life of the individual is not specifically altered or terminated by overwhelming accidents to individual organs such as malignant growths, peptic ulcer, pneumonia, tuberculosis, nephritis, or arteriosclerosis) that it is practically impossible to separate the consequences of aging per se from the result of accumulated injury due to accidents or disease. Of course, germ cells themselves may be acted upon unfavorably by these accidents and strains and the poisons to which we are exposed during life, and may thereby perhaps alter the character of aging in individuals of succeeding generations. However, this is highly unlikely, for if it were true we should have evidence of progressive degeneration of the species as a whole, and gradual shortening of the life span of typical individuals within the species. We know that

this is the exception rather than the rule.

The relative importance of the genetic constitution in the processes of senescence as opposed to the environment is illustrated by experiments on the fruit fly, where, with identical environment but with experimentally modified genetic constitution, the life span may be made to vary as much as 400 per cent. To be sure, it is a long distance from the fruit fly to man, and by and large science has as yet been able only to de-grade rather than to strengthen the genetic constitution by experimental means. Nevertheless, similar factors probably play a role in the phenomena dimly foreshadowed in the life of men—in the relatively long-lived and relatively short-lived human families. As once wisely said by Oliver Wendell Holmes, the physician and poet, "one of the best ways to insure a long life span is to make a careful and wise selection of grandparents."

The life of cells

If further justification of our primary thesis, namely the practical impossibility of separating the factors of aging per se from the effects of the accidents of living, is needed, we may cite the case of many plants in which tissue degenerations once thought to be due solely to aging seem now to be due to virus diseases, of which we have at present only the scantiest of information. And in plant seeds, age degeneration seems to be due to progressive chemical changes in the cell nuclei, changes which in turn interfere with later cell division and growth.

Unicellular animals are commonly said to be immortal. Nevertheless, these lowly cousins do seem to degenerate with age. This degeneration appears to be in the physiologically active nucleus, and unless this aged nuclear tissue is replaced by the reserve

micronucleus, as occurs in conjugation and endomixis, decline and death of these unicellular organisms appear to be inevitable. This is, in principle, not so different from sexual reproduction and death of the soma or body in the higher plants and animals. It is further confirmed by the fact that an annual plant may be made to survive for two years, if it is prevented from going on to bearing seeds in the first year of its existence.

On the other hand, the *potential* immortality of cells cannot be denied. The classic experiments of Carrell in maintaining a tissue culture of chick embryo heart cells over a period of thirty-six years (many times the normal life span of the chicken) is evidence in point. At the end of this long time interval the cells within the tissue culture were growing with the same rapidity, vigor, and enthusiasm that they had at the beginning of the experiment. The experiment was finally discontinued because it appeared that it would yield no further significant results. Carrell concluded that with the ideal environment which was maintained within the tissue culture chambers, the cells were actually immortal. The most significant part of this conclusion, however, is the fact that this immortality exists only if the environment in which these cells live is maintained at an optimum or nearly ideal condition.

Inadequate nutrients, undesirable chemical reactions, acidity and/or alkalinity, any accumulation of the chemical debris of metabolism, quickly retard the development of tissue culture cells and lead to their rapid senescence and death. In attempting an interpretation of these experimental studies as they apply to multicellular and complicated organisms, such as man, we must comprehend that in all probability the major factor which leads to

aging per se exists in changes in the intercellular environment within the organism, rather than within the cells themselves. Structural changes occurring in tissues due to aging in the absence of known disease (which does not imply that there may have been unknown, unidentified, or unrecognized disease processes going on) consist largely of changes in that part of tissue which we call the matrix. The body matrix is actually not a living tissue, but consists of fibers and fluids through which nutrients are brought to the living cells and waste products are removed. The changes in the matrix which gradually accumulate with advancing age are of such nature as to interfere insidiously with the nutrition of the cells in the broadest sense of nutrition. Nutrition must be defined not as being limited to the ingestion of food, but as involving also its absorption, its transport, and its utilization by the billions of individual cells which make up the composite organism.

To debate further the question as to the relative importance of heredity versus the strains and accidents of living as cause of aging change is a waste of time and paper. It is not a question of one *or* the other. Evidence now at hand shows conclusively that both forces play roles in the aging process. If a longer life span or a longer abundant life, with vim, vigor, and continued enthusiasm, is the desired goal, both biologically and socially, we must obviously reduce the production of those with less than optimum hereditary potential, and simultaneously provide optimum environment for the most fit.

AGE CHANGES IN THE PHYSIOLOGY OF MAN

The following principal changes due to age in the physiology of man and other animals can be listed, though

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they appear at different age levels in the individual and at different age levels in the organ systems of the total organism. The universality of these age changes, even in the exceptional persons whose hereditary constitutions and fortunate experiences have been able to meet the accidents of living for one hundred or more years, renders it highly probable that we are here dealing with changes inherent in the constitution of living matter, no matter how greatly these changes may be accelerated or altered by the vicissitudes of existence.

Progressive age changes, not as yet shown to be due to specific diseases, are:

1. Gradual tissue desiccation. Recent studies of electrolyte (salt) concentrations in the tissue cells have cast some doubt as to the reliability of older experiments which formerly appeared to have established gradual tissue drying as part of the aging process.

2. Gradual retardation of cell division, capacity of cell growth, and tissue repair. This involves also a decline in capacity to produce the products of secretion, whether they be known substances such as pepsin or thyroxine or the less well identified antibodies involved in immunity.

3. Gradual retardation of the rate of tissue oxidation (lowering of the speed of living, or, in technical terms, the metabolic rate).

4. Cellular atrophy, degeneration, increased cell pigmentation, and fatty infiltration.

5. Gradual decrease in tissue elasticity, and degenerative changes in the elastic connective tissues of the body.

6. Decreased speed, strength, and endurance of skeletal neuromuscular reactions.

7. Progressive degeneration and atrophy of the nervous system, impairment of vision, of hearing, of attention, of memory, and of mental endurance.

8. Gradual impairment of the mechanisms which maintain a fairly constant internal environment for the cells and tissues (a process known as homeostasis). It is evident that sufficient weakening of any one of the numerous links in the complex processes of homeostasis produces deterioration.

These changes are not listed in the order of their primary significance, for this is as yet unknown. Nor do we imply that the list includes all the changes of senescence. It is evident that aging is a continuous and complex series of processes, some of the changes starting early, others later in life, and proceeding at variable rates.

Compensation

It must be emphasized that all changes are not necessarily in the direction of decline, as regards the competent operation of the organism in the complex social environment in which we must exist. For example, although muscular strength, vigor, and speed of reaction decline with advancing years, skills tend to increase with long practice. Though there may be less intense emotional drive, often labeled ambition, there occurs an increase in loyalty and calmness, with clearer definition of purpose in living, with further maturation. These compensate for the restless drive of ambition in youth.

Similarly, there develops an immensely significant compensation in relation to the loss of acuity in vision: though the older eye may not see as clearly in the strictly somatic and physical sense as that eye of the youngster with a perfect 20/20 vision, what is seen is comprehended much more fully. The child sees a page of printed type such as this, and it is utterly meaningless. The older individual, plagued with the infernal nuisance of spectacles, which are always somewhat dirty and blurring, comprehends what all these

diminution in the ability of the skin to perspire and thus cool the organism, and a lessening ability to generate more heat when the external environment is cold.

Similarly, the aging organism cannot well tolerate long periods of starvation, because the blood sugar falls to undesirably low levels. Gluttony, or excessive ingestion of sugar or other substances, is likewise less well tolerated, for the reason that the ability to withdraw glucose from the blood stream and store it in the tissues is less competent.

These changes in homeostatic efficiency have very significant implications to us as individuals and to physicians dealing with older patients. For example, because the reaction to stresses—whether they be intoxication, fatigue, or physical stresses—is less violent, *the symptoms of illness are much less conspicuous in the older person.* It is well known that an old individual may be walking around with a temperature of 99.5° F. and still show the physical signs and other evidences of an extensive lobar pneumonia. In a child or young person the infection in the lung would be associated with fever of 103° F. to 104° F. and other very acute, dramatic, and conspicuous symptoms and signs of disease. Consequently we must be extremely alert to minor and subtle symptoms. The reason why the evidences of disordered functioning are less conspicuous in age than in youth is that symptoms are not directly consequent to injury, but represent reactions of the organism to the injury. It is the *reaction* that becomes less vigorous, violent, and evident in the aging person.

Likewise associated with the lowering of the vigor of homeostasis is the fact that it takes the body tissues longer to repair following a given in-

jury. This demands that there be a longer convalescence following an infection or trauma of any sort. Third, it must be recognized that when stress is unavoidable, the margin of safety is reduced and other compensatory mechanisms must be assisted to maintain that level of internal balance which constitutes health.

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

The picture of aging is in fact not so depressing as it may appear at first glance, and it is becoming brighter as medical science and practice are learning how to anticipate and prevent many unnecessary sources of injury. Most of the detriment, most of the depreciation, which occurs in later years is unquestionably due to the cumulative injuries of chronic and progressive disease rather than to aging per se.

An efficient mental life is possible even with reduced factors of safety, well into the seventh, eighth, and perhaps the ninth decade. Moderation in all things, together with competent medical guidance in regard to the avoidance of accidents and diseases to which we are all vulnerable, tends to prevent undue corrosion of specific life links, so that all of them proceed gradually and in step. A man or woman who has passed the first sixty or seventy years in honest toil and persistent efforts at understanding man and nature and the phenomena of interpersonal relationships has, or should have, accumulated a vast reserve of wisdom and self-discipline which should be made available to the younger generation. This reserve of wisdom and quiet inner strength learned by long practice in adaptation is an immensely significant antidote to the stresses and strains induced by the fears, the vanities, the greeds, and the ignorance of earlier years.

It is now known that many of the

chronic and progressive disorders which are so prone to beset us in later maturity, particularly such diseases as arteriosclerosis, high blood pressure, diabetes, and the like, are potentially amenable to prevention with proper guidance and proper acceptance of the guidance during the years of youth and young maturity. These are not disorders which arise from without, such as the acute infections, which can be prevented by control of the external environment. Their control, retardation, or even complete prevention, involves effort and self-discipline on the part of the individual. These disorders arise from within; they are silent, sneaking, fifth-columnist type of saboteurs.

To illustrate this, it is well known that obesity is a most significant element in the genesis, progression, and severity of diabetes mellitus late in life. Obesity is invariably due to eating more food than is required by the individual. Control of obesity is impossible without the acquisition and application of self-discipline on the part of the obese.

Similarly, the phenomenon popularly called "second childhood," which is likely to occur in the truly aged, is actually not a "second childhood" due solely to the depreciations of senility, but a continuation of the first childhood in individuals who have never actually matured emotionally or intellectually. When it is no longer necessary for them to make an impression upon those about them, they revert to their behavior pattern of childhood and infancy.

In the clinical experience of one of us it has been demonstrated repeatedly that those old people whose behavior becomes increasingly childish have lived lives so extremely conventional, so strictly patterned after the opinion of others, so rigidly conforming to the at-

titude of the herd; that it is quite obvious that they have never grown up or developed an idea or conviction of their own. We have even come to the point of considering an excessive conventionality as an *a priori* reason for suspicion of emotional and intellectual immaturity. However, deliberate and equally rigid unorthodox smug superiority and/or negativism may be likewise evidence of arrest in maturation. The truly mature can be original and yet conform to the broad patterns of their cultural environment.

Areas of prevention

In the last five to ten years research studies have yielded evidence indicating that arteriosclerosis may be amenable to preventive procedures. It is highly doubtful whether we can reverse the pathological process significantly once it has been fully established, but there is considerable hope that with proper nutritional balance and proper control of metabolic activity during the years of young maturity, much of arteriosclerotic change is open to prevention or at least definite retardation. This hope is most significant, because approximately two-thirds of the disabilities, both mental and physical, which incapacitate older individuals are secondary to arteriosclerotic or vascular disease.

Further intensive research into the many unknowns of the aging processes may some day enable the science and practice of medicine to delay involution. This must not be confused with "rejuvenation," either in the popular or in the quack medical sense. What we have in mind is a much more extensive application of what may be called anticipatory medicine, or constructive medicine, where the objective is to increase the degree of health rather than merely assist repair of injury after it

hieroglyphics mean, as long as he can see sufficiently to identify words.

As speed declines, our physiological endurance increases in certain areas. It is notable that while the records for all the sprint races, such as the hundred-yard dash or 220 run, are held by youngsters from 18 to 22, the records for the long grind of the marathon race are held by men between 38 and 45.

Similarly, intellectual and emotional endurance gradually increases with advancing age up to a given point. When this endurance finally breaks, the failure is more often associated with the accumulative consequences of disease than it is with aging per se. The aging individual requires less sleep, though the capacity to call upon reserves and fall back on "second wind" is lost. Thus, when the need for sleep arises, it becomes an imperative requirement, which can no longer be postponed by stimuli such as love, patriotism, ambition, dextedrine, coffee, or fear.

Ability to learn

We should not be depressed and feel hopeless over the decline in certain capacities, for the diminution is an extremely gradual one. Let us take, for example, diminution in the ability to learn rapidly. Very carefully controlled experimental studies have indicated that the maximum speed and rate of learning occurs at age 22. At age 80 the rate of learning is practically the same as at age 12. Thus, the decline from the maximum requires nearly sixty years to reach the level from which it rose over a period of ten years. In other words, the diminution in the ability to learn rapidly progresses at about one-sixth the rate of the evolutionary growth in this functional capacity.

Furthermore, there are qualitative as

well as quantitative differences in the ability to learn. It has been demonstrated that though it takes older individuals longer to memorize a given paragraph than it does younger persons, their recitations are usually more accurate. Though speed is lost, accuracy is increased. This change in the qualitative nature of memory is most important in relation to employment of older individuals, because there are many positions requiring accuracy, persistence, and endurance in the long, steady grind of competitive existence, rather than the brilliant, gazelle-like speed characteristic of younger persons.

Two environments

Item number 8 of those listed above is of extreme importance to the maintenance of good health. It must be emphasized that we actually live in two environments: (1) the obvious, visible, external one, the atmosphere about us, full of smoke, turmoil, politics, competition, noise, and dust, and (2) the internal milieu which intimately surrounds the living cells of our bodies. The survival of any cell depends upon its continuing existence in an environment which will supply it adequately with the chemical substances necessary for its metabolism and which is free of such substances as will seriously poison or injure it. Not only is the chemical constitution of the cellular environment essential to life and health, but its physical properties, such as temperature, are important. Life is incompatible with any gross deviation from an average condition in either one of these two environments. Physiologists have long been aware that the constancy of the internal environment is requisite to health. That the majority of organisms manage to maintain a reasonable level of health and live as long

as they do is the result of many extraordinarily effective mechanisms operating to maintain the necessary high degree of uniformity in the internal environment. The phenomenon of maintaining such equilibria is known as homeostasis.

With the development of more complex organisms from the simple, primitive, single-cell amoeba, some of the cells of the new forms of life became separated from the sea-water environment in which their ancestral forms had been bathed on all sides. Therefore, these organisms had to create means of bathing the internal cells in fluid similar to sea water. It is not accidental that the internal tissue fluids of all animal forms are extraordinarily similar in saltiness and chemical balance to the conditions which obtained in ocean depths millions of years ago. Today we are still amphibious, externally living on the land and in the air, but internally in a sea of our own making. When we consider the violence and the multitude of forces operating to throw the internal environment out of balance, it is truly extraordinary that such constancy has been maintained, not only in a single individual but throughout the ages.

Maintenance of balance

The constant effort to maintain balance within the permissible ranges of change in the internal environment may be compared to the tight-rope walker's efforts to retain his equilibrium with the aid of a pole. It is true that the acrobat sways slightly from one side to the other, just as the chemical balances of the body fluctuate within a relatively narrow range; but if these swings exceed a certain limit, the acrobat will fall, and so will health. The great difference between the acrobat

and what occurs in the body is that the organism must maintain equilibrium in a great many different categories simultaneously, whereas the performer is consciously concerned only with his physical balance at the moment.

To mention but a few of the multitude of balances which must be maintained, we may say that we cannot tolerate much deviation of the normal body temperature, or the concentration of sugar in the blood, or of calcium, chloride, phosphate, or many other chemical constituents in the blood stream or tissue fluids. The acid-alkaline balance must be maintained despite great variations in supply or intake. For example, we ingest food at irregular intervals through the day and often undergo relatively long periods of starvation. Also, our expenditures of energy are likewise variable. During sleep we burn far less fuel than when actively exercising.

Lowered homeostatic efficiency

As these balancing mechanisms become less vigorous with advancing age, the ability to withstand stresses from without is diminished. This is beautifully illustrated by the fact that the older individual cannot tolerate extremes of temperature. Witness the annual trek to the warmer climes during the winter by older persons, and the resulting accumulation of the aged in the balmy sun of Florida. Likewise, they cannot tolerate extremes of heat. It is well known to industry that older men cannot take what are known as "hot jobs," such as those in a steel rolling mill or a stoke room. This impairment of the ability to withstand extremes of external temperature is due to many factors, among which are a decreased vascularity of the skin so that heat is radiated less readily, a

has occurred. Constructive medicine involves periodic guidance, early discovery of disorders or of the changes contributing to the development of disease, and their immediate treatment. It involves also self-discipline and effort on the part of the individual. Health is always relative. There is always room for improvement.

Objectives of geriatric medicine

There exists considerable confusion as to the objectives of geriatric medicine, or that part of medical science and practice concerned with the care of the aging and the aged. There are those who resent the implication that geriatric medicine should attempt to prolong life. Many among the aged, and even more among the young, feel that most of the older members of our population are living too long as it is, and that the vastly increasing numbers of the old are becoming naught but a burden on the community. But the primary objective of geriatric medicine is not merely to prolong life. It is to modify the abnormalities characteristic of senescence and to control the progressive disorders of later years, thus adding to the health and usefulness of those who are aging. There can be no better definition of the major objectives of geriatrics than that given by Piersol and Bortz: "The society which fosters research to save human life cannot escape responsibility for the life thus extended. It is for science not only to add to the years of life but more important to add life to the years."² The core of geriatric medicine is in prevention and anticipation.

Preventive medicine for mature adults as a part of geriatric medicine is in its early infancy. Until recently

there was little need for preventive activity in this area. But the proportionate increase in the numbers of elderly persons in our population makes the menace of chronic and progressive disease characteristic of the senescent period of life a problem equally as urgent as the hazards of infections. In the future, preventive medicine must add individual personal health construction to the practice of environment control, or else fail.

The full potentialities of personal health guidance cannot be realized until research has illuminated the etiology of degenerative disorders. But even with our present and admittedly extremely incomplete knowledge, much unnecessary illness of the later years can be prevented by more thorough and more widespread application of existing information. Reawakening of a sense of individual responsibility is essential to this accomplishment. Mature adults must realize that longevity and health are privileges, and not inherent rights. As privileges, they carry the inescapable obligations of effort to maintain health.

As all the so-called degenerative disorders begin long before symptoms become apparent, preventive geriatric medicine must begin long before senility. Prevention must precede. More can be accomplished for the aging than for the aged. Therefore, the two decades from age 40 to age 60 constitute the critical periods in geriatric medicine. There are many reasons to hope that the next fifty years will permit of progress in this field comparable to the advances made in the last half-century in the control of infectious diseases, subsequent to the birth of bacteriology. Longevity with vigor and usefulness retained until true senility creates infirmity is an objective worthy of the best and most energetic efforts. There

² G. M. Piersol and E. L. Bortz, *Annals of Internal Medicine*, Vol. 12 (Jan. 1939), p. 964.

is no greater tragedy for the aged than the sense of uselessness that is so often imposed upon them both by their own disabilities and by society's rejection of those prematurely shelved.

NUTRITION AND THE LIFE SPAN

Since scientific information on the kinds and quantities of foods required for optimum growth, health, and maximum longevity is as yet extremely incomplete in relation to the history of the human race, it is evident that man's diet, both as to kind and as to quantity, was in the past determined by appetite, hunger, and availability of foods. We may therefore assume that both underconsumption and excess consumption of foods, and alternation between starvation and gluttony, between emaciation and obesity, are phenomena as ancient as man himself.

Life insurance statistics show clearly that marked underweight, as well as obesity, tends to shorten the life span of man. The studies of McCay with experimental rats reveal that a diet adequate in quality but so reduced in caloric quantity that the growth of the animal is retarded, increases the life span most significantly. In these experiments the control group of rats was fed the same kind of foods ad libitum. This group may have had its life span shortened by excessive eating—by physiological obesity.

It is well established that most, if not all, persons showing marked and persistent underweight or emaciation are underweight by reason of functional disorders interfering with digestion, absorption, or metabolism of foodstuffs. Chronic disturbances of appetite are commonly of emotional origin. Thus most individuals are underweight by reason of illness.

That such persons die prematurely is

not particularly puzzling to us, for they die of disease which creates an early corrosion of some essential links in the life chain. But why does the overweight person, who seems otherwise healthy, die prematurely? This is a fundamental problem in geriatric medicine, for in the absence of specific disease, overweight tends to increase in men and women past 40 years of age. Is obesity itself a disease? Or is the shortening of the life span merely a consequence of obesity, as implied in the popular saying that "fat people dig their graves with their teeth"?

Food intake and the life span

The profoundly significant studies of McCay on the increased longevity of animals whose growth rate has been retarded by lowered caloric intake have recently been confirmed by other studies of a somewhat different nature carried out by Carlson and Hoelzel. Litter-mate rats on the same diet given no food at all every second, every third, and every fourth day from the day of weaning until the day of death, lived significantly longer than their sibling rats eating the same diet ad libitum every day. This amount of fasting did not retard body growth and size, as measured by tibia length, but the rats on this type of fasting did not become obese. On days when these rats had no food they were usually more active and restless than their litter mates on the same food without limit.

It seems probable that the rats given all the food they chose to eat every day shortened their life span by overeating, rather than that the fasting and greater physical activity of their litter-mates actually lengthened their genetic life span; for when considerable indigestible bulk was added to the same diet and the rats were allowed to eat this

every day, the life span of these rats also was lengthened. The rats on indigestible bulk in the diet, or those fed only every other day, had fewer tumors and smaller tumors and less gastrointestinal pathology at the time of death than had the rats on the concentrated diet eating every day.

Food intake and obesity

During the last twenty-five years considerable, though relatively superficial, attention has been given to the possible relation of thyroid, gonad, and pituitary disorders to human and animal obesity. It now seems established, or at least highly probable, that there is no such thing as a primary endocrine obesity, apart from endocrine influences on appetite, hunger, and physical activity. The marked obesity that follows destructive injuries at the base of the brain seems to be largely due to an increased food consumption because of increased appetite. Endocrine therapy of obesity has been disappointing except in the case of thyroid extract, and that has to be administered to the point of inducing symptoms of the disease hyperthyroidism before weight reduction is secured in the absence of reduced food intake.

On the basis of present information it seems likely that the development of obesity in people past 40 years of age is primarily due to the persistence of the habit of eating excessively, and to the satisfaction of specific appetites for foods at a time in life when the rates of tissue oxidation and general motor activity are both on the decline.

It is not difficult to understand why ingestion of food to the point of obesity is injurious to people whose factor of safety is reduced because of a gradual decline in their production of insulin, which significantly affects sugar and

fat combustion. Such dietary excesses damage by overworking an already impaired mechanism. But in the absence of diabetes, actual or incipient, why does obesity, maintained for years, initiate or aggravate cardiovascular, kidney, and other disorders that shorten the life span? The answer to this question is being sought by experiments and accurate observation on both mice and men, but in the meantime the prevention of obesity in all people past age 30 appears to be a prophylactic imperative in preventive geriatrics.

Dietary elements

Aging and the metabolic changes which go therewith raise many other problems in the whole field of nutrition. Diet and nutrition are not concerned only with intake of calories and vitamins, and balance between protein, fat, and carbohydrates. Impairment of the efficiency of digestion, difficulties encountered in chewing, and the problem of constipation demand attention to the physical characteristics of the foods which are ingested. Likewise, there arises an increasing need for certain substances. This is particularly applicable to the requirements for calcium. It is characteristic of aging tissues and particularly of aging bones, that calcium is withdrawn and lost from the organism. There occurs a gradual demineralization of the osseous structures in aging individuals. This can be prevented to a great degree by a deliberate and intentional increase in calcium intake. However, this intake must begin long before the great depreciations have occurred. Similarly, there is an increased need for certain vitamins and for iron to maintain a normal metabolism.

One of the most significant discrepancies in most dietary studies and advice arises from the fact that the role which

water plays in the maintenance of good health is too often ignored. Water is a dietary factor secondary to none in importance. In the elderly individual water is significant not only from the point of view of nutrition, but also because of its importance to the kidneys' function of getting rid of the accumulated debris of metabolism, to the flow of digestive juices essential to adequate digestion, and in the avoidance of constipation.

Essentials of good nutrition.

In the light of present knowledge, the essentials of good nutrition in geriatric medicine must include consideration of the following principles:

1. Moderation. Excesses are as undesirable as deficiencies. Both induce malnutrition. It is often most helpful for older persons to eat small quantities frequently rather than to attempt large meals.

2. Individualization. Individual variation increases with advancing years. Generalizations and routine dietary programs are often unsatisfactory. Many variable factors, such as digestive and circulatory efficiency, habits, and dentures, affect the prescription of diet in the elderly.

3. Water. The importance of an adequate fluid intake must never be forgotten.

4. Maintenance of hemoglobin content. Anemia, even if minor, is immensely more significant in later years than in youth, for the ability to compensate for inadequacy declines. In the presence of any circulatory handicap (arteriosclerosis, hypertension, or cardiac impairment) the quality of the circulating medium assumes a role of major importance. Optimum hemoglobin concentrations should be the objective; the average does not suffice.

5. Balance in dietary is as important

here as at any age. Asymmetry in utilization, however, may alter the optimum proportions of various elements in contrast to the usual standards of young adults. Protein, iron, and calcium are the elements apparently most likely to be inadequate in spontaneously selected dietaries among the aged.

6. The focus of attention must be on the person rather than on his disease or diseases. The human being is indivisible; psyche and soma are one. Insulin does not suffice for the anxious diabetic patient, nor does equanimity come to the exhausted anemia patient. An attitude of constructive prophylaxis is essential to effective geriatric medicine. The primary objective is the construction of health to as near the optimum as possible. Wise nutrition is a most powerful tool for the attainment of vigor in later years.

SUMMARY

Herein we have attempted merely to point out some of the problems inherent in the processes of aging in the living organism. They are many and complex, and inter-react one upon the other. It must be emphasized that though a considerable mass of knowledge is accumulating, those who are concerned with either research or clinical application in this area are at the same time becoming more and more aware of the inadequacy and incompleteness of our knowledge. As has been said by an ancient and very wise Chinese, "He who knows, knows that he does not know."

There is reason to hope that with continuing study and better application of what knowledge does exist, not only can the life span be somewhat further extended, but the period of usefulness to the community can be prolonged. Longevity without continued health and usefulness is not a blessing. Long dis-

ablement from chronic illness is a greater tragedy than rapid death from acute illness.

In closing, let us remind ourselves that though it is the young scientists whose brilliant researches have revealed so much about the physical

world (even to the fission of the atom), it is only mature adults who can reveal all the immense and significant potentialities of mankind. At last we are approaching an era in which man lives long enough to have time to think. In thinking he grows, and in growing, lives.

Anton J. Carlson, Ph.D., Chicago, Illinois, is Frank P. Hixon Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Physiology at the University of Chicago, having been in the Department of Physiology of that university since 1904. He is a member of numerous biological and medical societies in the United States and other countries, and has been a member of various international congresses of physiology. He is author of Control of Hunger in Health and Disease, The Machinery of the Body, and some two hundred research reports.

Edward J. Stieglitz, M.S., M.D., F.A.C.P., Washington, D. C., is in the private practice of internal medicine, with emphasis on preventive geriatrics. He is consultant in geriatrics to the Veterans' Administration and St. Elizabeths Hospital, and is chairman of the Advisory Council on Professional Education for the Commission on Chronic Illness. He has served as associate professor of internal medicine at Rush Medical College, Chicago, and as chief of the Unit in Gerontology of the National Institutes of Health. He is author of some 130 publications, including the following books: Arterial Hypertension (1930); Obstetric Medicine (coeditor with F. L. Adair, 1934); Abnormal Arterial Tension (1935); Geriatric Medicine (1943, 1949); A Future for Preventive Medicine (1945); and The Second Forty Years (1946).



Psychological Aspects of Aging

By OSCAR J. KAPLAN

A STRIKING characteristic of the literature on the psychology of later maturity is the almost complete absence of systematic investigations. Some of the most widely quoted studies in this field were developed with other problems in mind, the age data being incidental to research beamed at other areas. Many of the widely publicized investigations are based on small and often not very carefully selected samples. The methodological tools used have frequently been inappropriate. The literature suffers from a lack of stimulating hypotheses and theories. Description rather than explanation is the objective of most of the published work in this field.

Under such circumstances the wise reviewer approaches his assignment with humility, realizing that he may live to regret some of the more positive statements that he makes. This article does not pretend to cover its topic thoroughly, seeking merely to list the major achievements and methodological difficulties that now exist. The reader in search of details is referred to the more comprehensive reviews of N. Shock,¹ S. Granick,² H. Jones and O. Kaplan,³ W. Donahue,⁴ and R. Kuhlen.⁵

¹ N. Shock, "Gerontology (Later Maturity)," *Annual Review of Psychology*, Vol. 2 (1951), pp. 353-70.

² S. Granick, "Studies in the Psychology of Senility," *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 5 (1950), pp. 44-58.

³ H. E. Jones and O. J. Kaplan, "Psychological Aspects of Mental Disorders in Later Life," Ch. 4 in O. J. Kaplan (editor), *Mental Disorders in Later Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1945), pp. 69-115.

⁴ W. Donahue, "Psychological Aspects of Aging," in T. L. Smith (editor), *Problems of America's Aging Population* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951), pp. 47-65.

Older persons living in 1952 are persons whose tissues have weathered the storms of sixty or seventy winters; they are equally the products of a long cultural experience. Most of these men and women grew up in a period when education beyond grade school was the privilege of a few and when educational methods were less efficient than they are today. They grew up in a period when mental testing in schools was just beginning to show its head. The intellectual climate in which they have spent most of their lives probably differs markedly from that which awaits older persons in the next half-century. Later-maturity studies conducted in the year 2000 may yield results on many problems which will part sharply with present findings. The role of culture in the psychology of aging remains to be delineated.

SENSORY AND MOTOR FUNCTIONS

The incidence of hearing difficulties increases with age, particularly in relation to higher tones. At low illumination levels, older persons with adequate acuity are visually inferior to the young and middle aged. There is a tendency for visual acuity impairments to be more common in the elderly. Quickness of visual perception begins to decline soon after adulthood is reached.

Using subjects of different ages matched for visual acuity on unspedeed ophthalmological tests, H. C. Weston⁶ has demonstrated that a speed emphasis

⁵ R. Kuhlen, "Age Differences in Personality During Adult Years," *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 42 (1945), pp. 333-58.

⁶ H. C. Weston, "On Age and Illumination in Relation to Visual Performance," *Transactions of the Illuminating Engineering Society of London*, Vol. 14 (1949), p. 281.

leads to a sharp drop in scores on a task demanding fine visual discrimination. The drop was sharp even between the twenties and the forties, being particularly pronounced under conditions of poor contrast or dim illumination. Results obtained in many physiological stress tests also indicate that often changes are taking place which ordinary tests may not reveal.

Motor response speed declines gradually in many task situations, the rate of decline and the age of onset varying with the task and with the individual being studied. Decline is most pronounced in tasks demanding speed and strength of response, and is especially evident in activities or abilities which have not been appreciably exercised. Soon after maturity is reached, the efficiency of many simple performances begins to drop; for example, swiftness of blow, simple reaction time, strength of grip.

A number of investigations have shown that older persons are more comfortable and proficient at tasks which stress accuracy above speed. Typical of these studies is one by R. A. Brown⁷ in which subjects were asked to trace digits with emphasis on both speed and accuracy. Time scores remained fairly constant from the twenties into the thirties, but errors increased markedly during this period. Beyond age 40 speed dropped steadily, but errors decreased to a level considerably below that achieved by subjects in their twenties. It is of interest that in the group of sixty-five subjects, the two quickest ones were in their twenties, but the third-best time performance was turned in by a subject aged 74!

According to one study, at age 65

⁷ R. A. Brown, mentioned by A. T. Welford and D. Speakman, "The Employability of Older People," in M. Derber (editor), *The Aged and Society* (Industrial Relations Research Association, 1950), p. 184.

the average man requires 0.06 second more time to apply his brake than he needed at age 23. If the car moved at the rate of fifty miles per hour, it would travel five additional feet during the 0.06 second period. On the basis of this finding, one might expect older drivers to be involved in a disproportionately large percentage of accidents. This is not the case. Older persons are less likely to be involved in serious accidents than young persons at the very summit of their physiological prowess. Older individuals, cognizant of their limitations, are less likely to expose themselves when driving conditions are hazardous, and also are more safety-minded than their juniors. These two factors more than compensate for the sensory and motor losses which afflict many persons of advanced years. Personality and experience factors are important in determining the practical significance of age changes in biological functions.

An indication that practice plays a significant part in the preservation of manual abilities is provided by the work of W. Miles.⁸ He found that mechanically trained older men retained the ability to work on a mechanical assembly test at young adult speed levels, surpassing untrained men aged 50-69 who were equal to them in intelligence and formal schooling.

It would be enlightening to repeat the Miles study just referred to, providing additional training for the inexperienced older men. Would practice lift the untrained men to the level of the trained ones? Does disuse or lack of training lead to an irreversible loss? These are questions with many practical implications.

The role of experience was even more

⁸ W. Miles, "Age and Human Society," Ch. 15 in C. Murchison (editor), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1935), pp. 596-683.

dramatically illustrated in the performance of men and women of different ages on the McFarlane Coat Assembly Test, a test of manual skill. On this test the average 20-year-old man was found to be inferior to the average 70-year-old woman.

It has been pointed out that laboratory research, based on short time periods, may not be representative of performance under everyday conditions over long periods. Support for this position comes from the investigations of K. Smith,⁹ who found that an eight-hour work period accentuated differences in performance between men in their thirties and those in their fifties. The task involved assembly of bolts and nuts.

Compensations

Since workers seldom operate at the peak of their capabilities, loss in sensory and motor functions is not necessarily reflected in lowered output. The older worker may be more conscientious, more dependable, and more capable of meeting emergencies than his juniors. In complex tasks he may maintain his performance level in the face of sensory and motor decline by developing new methods of work which circumvent the losses experienced.

It seems reasonable to suppose that engineers working with psychologists could redesign many industrial machines in such a way as to compensate for sensory and motor losses. One of the mainsprings of human progress has been the ability of man to extend the range of his senses and to multiply his strength by mechanical means. The new science of human engineering, in which the characteristics of men and machines are reconciled, can contribute immeasurably to the adjustment of the

older worker to his industrial task. Even if it be acknowledged that many older persons cannot succeed in industry as now operated, it does not follow that they cannot be salvaged for useful work. We must support research designed to promote the preservation of psychological and physical competence, but we must also try to adapt jobs to the abilities of older workers. It is probable that human engineering can do more in the next two decades to maintain the employability of persons over 40 than can medical science.

LEARNING ABILITY

The fate of learning ability in the adult years has been the subject of a number of inquiries, chief among which have been those of E. L. Thorndike *et al.*¹⁰ and F. L. Ruch.¹¹ It is clear from these studies that the products of early adult learning may survive the ability to learn skills of equal difficulty. The man of 80 may be able to speak a language which he could not easily master for the first time at his age.

One of the earliest and most comprehensive studies of adult learning was undertaken by E. L. Thorndike and his associates. They found only a slight decline in learning competence from the peak age of 22 to age 45; beyond age 45 the rate of loss was accelerated. The investigators reported that tasks which measured "simple modifiability," such as learning a letter code, drawing lines of specified length while blindfolded, learning to write with the non-preferred hand, and associating numbers with nonsense syllables, exhibited the largest age decrement. Material based on elementary school subjects

¹⁰ E. L. Thorndike, E. O. Bregman, J. Tilton, and E. Woodyard, *Adult Learning* (New York: Macmillan, 1928).

¹¹ F. L. Ruch, "The Differentiative Effects of Age upon Human Learning," *Journal of General Psychology*, Vol. 11 (1934), p. 261.

⁹ K. Smith, "Age and Performance on a Repetitive Manual Task," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 22 (1938), p. 295.

seemed equally easy to the young and old subjects in this experiment. Summarizing their findings, the Thorndike group claimed an over-all loss of about 15 per cent in learning efficiency between ages 22 and 45. They were quick to point out that greater motivation and improved work methods may easily compensate for loss in learning ability.

F. L. Ruch, on the basis of a survey of the literature and his own investigations, concluded that learning ability diminishes soon after adulthood is reached. Nonsense material and motor skills are more difficult to learn than meaningful verbal material. Reorganization of practiced habits was particularly difficult for the older subjects in the Ruch studies. Assignments which permitted older subjects to profit directly from their previous experiences were the most favorable to proficiency in learning.

There is experimental evidence to support the claim that those who continue to apply themselves to the learning of verbal materials all through life are able to maintain their efficiency as learners better than those who do not have such a history. This fits in very well with the observation that aged persons who have practiced motor skills for many decades often surpass young persons at these skills.

B. M. Bernardelli¹² has examined the effects of various types of instruction on acquisition of ability to deal with electrical problems. Persons over age 30 tended to learn more readily if the instructions were in written form and to profit less by demonstration than those under 30. This has been interpreted to mean that older persons are slower in comprehending new material; written instructions afford more opportunity for review. There is a tendency

for people at all ages to be reluctant to ask that demonstrations be repeated. If it is true that efficiency of learning varies with different methods at different ages, we may be able to accelerate the learning of persons of advanced age by using methods more appropriate for them.

Writers on later maturity have not given sufficient attention to the possibility that older people may become very competent at tasks with which they have more initial difficulty than the young. A. B. Cherns¹³ reports an experiment in which subjects were asked to reject aluminum blocks which were below standard. Although the older subjects were much slower in arriving at judgments on the first few blocks, they approximated the speed of the younger subjects as the experiment progressed.

Many of the learning experiments centered on older persons have been very artificial. It seems reasonable to suppose that in certain types of learning situations the older person may actually have an advantage. For example, if we were to compare the performance of a 25-year-old chemist with that of a colleague aged 50 in digesting and comprehending the content of an article in a professional journal, it is quite possible that the older man would win out because of his greater familiarity with the field. Although it is entertaining and informative to study learning ability "in the raw," in a large number of occupational situations it is impossible to divorce experience and apperceptive mass from other factors in learning.

MEMORY

Since memory is the keystone of intelligence, binding us to our past and enabling us to exploit our experiences

¹² B. M. Bernardelli, mentioned by A. T. Welford and D. Speakman, *op. cit.* note 7 *supra*, p. 191.

¹³ A. B. Cherns, mentioned by Welford and Speakman, *op. cit.* note 7 *supra*, p. 188.

in the solution of current problems, the fate of this function in the later years is a matter of much importance. Regrettably, much of the research on this topic has been very superficial. It does appear, however, that memory changes vary with the complexity of the task, loss being smallest on simple memory tests, such as one dealing with visual memory for digits. There is a tendency for those of superior intelligence to sustain less memory loss than those who are mentally dull.

Much of the data on memory has been collected in the course of intelligence studies. The dynamic nature of memory and its relationship to personality and motivation have been largely neglected in most of the published work. Although marked individual differences in memory ability have been described, no serious effort has been made to account for these differences in psychological terms.

INTELLIGENCE

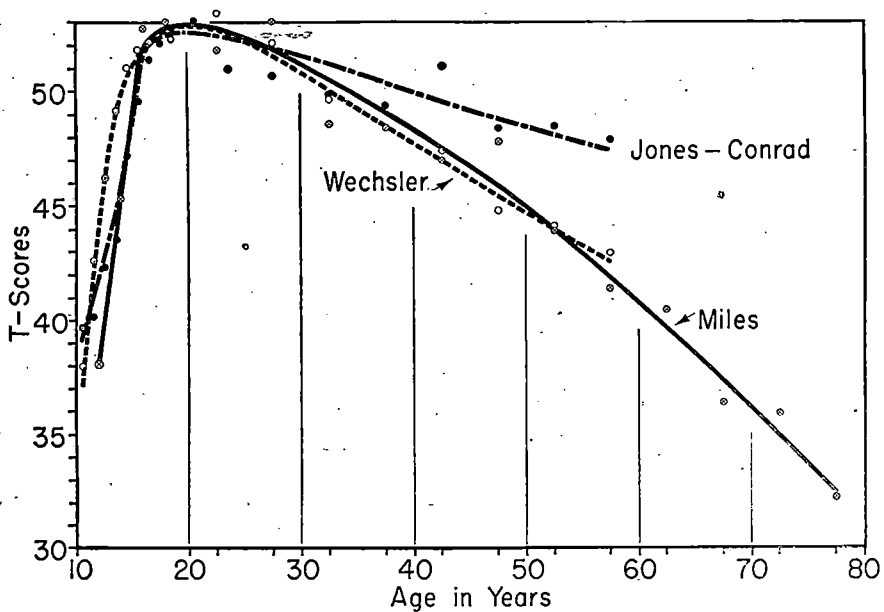
Those who write confidently about the relationship between age and intelligence may some day have a rude awakening. The studies thus far undertaken have been so limited in terms of sampling and so inadequate in terms of experimental control that it would be foolhardy to assume that we have a solid basis for discussing this subject. Although the work of Jones and Conrad, Miles, Wechsler, and others points to a lowered average performance at higher chronological ages, these findings do not dispose of such possibilities as the following: (1) some maintain their mental abilities into advanced later maturity without appreciable loss; (2) losses that occur are due largely to disuse or lack of appropriate training; (3) the test instruments and procedures are unsuited to older persons; (4) motivational factors differ at various ages.

Our so-called tests of intelligence are instruments for the assessment of mental abilities rather than capacities. At the present time there is no accurate way of gauging mental capacities directly. This requires that we exercise caution in interpreting test results relating to older persons.

It is conceivable, for example, that a person who has the capacity to do problems in differential calculus may lack the ability to solve such problems because he has never been instructed in the subject. Another possibility is that the ability to work problems was once in the possession of the subject and has atrophied because of disuse. In such a case the possibility exists that the ability may be rewoven by additional study. Still another possibility is that the subject may be able to solve readily problems in differential calculus, but may be incapable of acquiring easily other abilities of comparable difficulty. In short, abilities may survive the capacities which permitted the acquisition of the abilities. Unquestionably, this accounts for the vocabulary levels of deteriorated senile psychotics, their knowledge of words being unattainable on the basis of present capacities.

The accompanying chart ¹⁴ presents smoothed age curves based on three of the best-known investigations, by Wechsler, Miles and Miles, and Jones and Conrad. Age means derived from raw scores have been transformed into T scores in terms of the average mean and average standard deviation of the age groups 25-40. The three curves concur in showing rapid gains in test intelligence during adolescence, with a peak around age 20, after which decline begins.

¹⁴ Fig. 6.—Mental test scores as related to age: a comparison of results from three investigations. From H. E. Jones and O. J. Kaplan, *op. cit.* note 3 *supra*, p. 72.



Findings on superior men

Recent studies on superior men present a somewhat different picture. W. A. Owens¹⁵ has reported what is in effect a longitudinal study of the mental abilities of a group of college men. Retesting his middle-aged subjects with the same instrument used with them when they were college students, he found no appreciable change in their scores after an interval of thirty-two years. As a matter of fact, there were significant increases on items based on general information, verbal opposites, disarranged sentences, and common sense. Ability to handle items dealing with arithmetical computation, digit symbols, block designs, number series, and analogies did not fare as well, presumably because they were more culture-free.

Another study that fits into this same pattern has been reported by K.

Sward.¹⁶ He gave a diversified and difficult mental test to a group of forty-five professors aged 60-80 and to a control group of forty-five colleagues aged 25-35. Sward feels that the two groups were roughly comparable in terms of motivation and initial ability. He found individual differences far more impressive than age differences. Although there was a significant difference in favor of the younger men on six of the eight subtests, the losses appeared to be largely a by-product of disuse and an artifact of the particular test employed. The older men did better than the younger ones on the subtest dealing with vocabulary. Sward concludes that age has the effect of slowing the rate of mental operations far more than of impairing their quality or accuracy.

It is of some theoretical and practical interest that those who do well on intelligence tests are less subject to loss

¹⁵ W. A. Owens, article in 1950 *Newsletter*, Division of Maturity and Old Age of the American Psychological Association.

¹⁶ K. Sward, "Age and Mental Ability in Superior Men," *American Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 58² (1945), pp. 443-79.

of the abilities measured than are those who make mediocre or inferior scores. It is not clear at the present time whether this is due primarily to biological or to environmental factors, although it appears likely that the latter are primary.

Differential decline

Older subjects are not greatly handicapped on test items which permit solutions to be reached in terms of past experience. Unfamiliar tasks and problems which require reorganization of data are much more difficult for the average older person than for the average young adult. "Test intelligence" is a composite made up of a number of related but somewhat distinct abilities. It is worthy of note that most studies show that vocabulary and general information items hold up much better with age than items that are more novel for the subject. Of both theoretical and practical importance is a sound explanation for the finding that mental abilities decline differentially. Why do general information and vocabulary items hold up so much better than those dealing with number series, completion, and reasoning? What are the relative roles of practice and biological change?

Relevance of tests

It is generally agreed that speed tests of intelligence discriminate against older persons. Some have argued that it is unfair to administer speed tests to such persons. Although it must be admitted that older individuals may be excessively penalized, it seems that a reasonable solution calls for de-emphasis or isolation of this factor rather than for its elimination. It is important to know the speed with which a person works at intellectual tasks. Research

is needed on the causes which underlie the drop in speed which is so commonly observed. It may be due in some cases mainly to lack of familiarity with or practice of the task. It may have a neurological basis in other instances.

Loss in speed is not necessarily disastrous, and often is more than compensated for by experience. The top executive may have a week in which to arrive at a major decision. It is far more important that he arrive at a correct decision than that he be able to make it quickly.

It remains to be established that the functions measured by existing mental ability tests are significant in the lives of older persons. These tests have not yet been validated against acceptable later-maturity criteria. A test may be useful in a school situation but may have little value in appraising the fitness of an older person for a specialized job. It cannot be denied that profound memory loss will disable an individual, or that certain other abilities featured in our tests are important to successful adjustment. However, if our present tests continue in use, subscores rather than global scores should be emphasized.

Most psychologists now recognize that our intelligence tests do not sample all the higher mental abilities. The tests provide little opportunity for the measurement of such functions as creativity and judgment, which assuredly deserve to rank at the very top of the mental ability hierarchy. It is conceivable that some persons add all through life to their ability to arrive at sound decisions in complex problems and to the ability to think independently.

Various measurement problems

A major measurement problem derives from the fact that the same intel-

ligence test may be assessing different mental abilities at different ages. For example, B. Balinsky¹⁷ made a factor analysis on Wechsler-Bellevue test scores achieved by subjects ranging in age from 9 to 59. Using the Thurstone centroid method with axis rotation, he isolated factors from the intercorrelation of scores on subtests for each of six age groups. He obtained different factor groupings for the six age groups. Specificity of performance increased with age, and mental organization varied in the groups studied. The Wechsler-Bellevue test apparently measures somewhat different functions at different adult ages.

The possibility that motor and sensory changes may partly explain the drop in test scores with age has occurred to several workers in the later-maturity field. J. Birren and J. Botwinick¹⁸ have demonstrated loss of writing speed in later life, in "normal" subjects, and a more pronounced reduction of speed in those diagnosed as suffering from senile psychoses. These investigators conclude that tests of writing speed may profitably be added to the psychological examination of the older person.

Verbal intelligence tests proceed on the assumption that those being examined have had comparable intellectual backgrounds. Unless this condition is met, scores have no meaning. Since intellectual histories become increasingly unique as persons age, the condition of comparability of background becomes progressively more difficult to attain. One possible solution

is the development of a number of different tests for people of various backgrounds.

Motivation is acknowledged to be an important factor in test performance, and one whose role is very difficult to evaluate. Cumulative experience, biological change, and many other variables surely intervene to influence the attitude that the subject adopts toward the test situation. Adult life rarely provides the type of competitive challenge represented by a mental ability test. The school, on the other hand, constantly provides experiences which prepare the student for the test situation, giving an advantage to the young.

The Wechsler-Bellevue intelligence scale has been very widely used in the measurement of the intelligence of older persons. This test is one of the few psychological instruments that has taken cognizance of the problem of age change. Age decrements are eliminated by adding a fixed number of points to each score on an age basis. This mechanical solution to a difficult problem is not entirely adequate. N. Shock¹⁹ points out that the test procedure would give an 85-year-old cadaver 22 points on an age basis, enabling him to score as a "borderline defective." Here we have a good example of the lack of tools appropriate for the study of aging persons.

It is regrettable that we know almost nothing about the role of race in connection with psychological change with age. The Stanford-Binet, Wechsler-Bellevue, and most of the other widely used tests were standardized on white Americans.

¹⁷ B. Balinsky, "Genetic Psychology Monographs," Vol. 23 (1941), pp. 191-234.

¹⁸ J. E. Birren and J. Botwinick, "The Relation of Writing Speed to Age and to the Senile Psychoses," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, Vol. 15 (1951), pp. 243-49.

¹⁹ N. Shock, "Psychology and Gerontology," in W. Dennis (editor), *Current Trends in the Relation of Psychology to Medicine* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1950), pp. 1055-56.

Need for longitudinal studies

Although longitudinal studies of test intelligence are beset by many methodological problems, they eventually must be undertaken if we are to gain insight into the fate of mental abilities in the later years of life. Such studies may direct us to many individuals whose performance undergoes no decline. If such studies could be linked with thorough research on the biological and social progress of these individuals through life, we might emerge with some challenging hypotheses.

Even if it be convincingly demonstrated that the average person experiences decline in the abilities measured by our tests with advancing chronological age, we must still decide whether environmental factors or the aging process is primarily responsible. It is well within the realm of possibility that the decline between ages 20 and 50 is determined mainly by lack of exercise or poverty of the intellectual environment, and that only in the closing decades of life does biological aging become an important factor in test performance. If the writer were compelled to cling to a single hypothesis, he would risk the guess that this is the more correct explanation.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

Insufficient emphasis has been placed on individual differences in aging, and little attention has been given to persons retaining their physical and mental abilities to advanced years. The latter provide living proof that frailty of body and mind is not the inevitable lot of men and women in the closing decades. It is reasonable to hope that an intensive study of these fortunate people will teach us how to spread the blessings of physical and mental vigor more widely among the elderly.

Summarizing the literature on individual differences in aging, R. Kuhlen points out:

In Jones and Conrad's study of adult intelligence only 10 people out of a total of 1,191 exceeded the score interval occupied by the brightest 55 to 59-year-olds. In Galton's data on adults the strongest man in the 60 to 70 year age group was exceeded by only two per cent of the 20 to 29-year-old males. A report by Misiak dealing with age trends in critical flicker frequency, a phenomenon of some interest to students of aging, states "that there were critical flicker frequencies at age 82 as high as at age 7, and . . . critical flicker frequencies at age 7 as low as at age 80."²⁰

A Edwards²¹ has supplied data on body sway which indicate that many 70-year-olds are as steady as or steadier than many young subjects. In the matter of finger tremor, the oldsters did not differ greatly from college students. Individual differences were striking at all ages.

A man of 106 with an intelligence quotient of 126, who is active in organizations and keeps abreast with world events, has been described recently by D. Schuster.²² The literature contains references to a number of other persons who have distinguished themselves on intelligence tests at very advanced ages. The average college graduate at age 60 does better on an intelligent test than the average high school graduate at age 18. It is reasonable to assume that a person's test

²⁰ R. Kuhlen, "Individual Differences in Aging," Presidential Address, Division of Maturity and Old Age, American Psychological Association, September 1951.

²¹ A. Edwards, "The Myth of Chronological Age," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 34 (1950), pp. 316-18.

²² D. Schuster, "A Psychologic Study of a 106 Year Old Man: Contribution to Dynamic Concepts of Aging and Dementia," *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 6 (1951), p. 147.

performance in the later decades may be predicted roughly on the basis of early adult scores, barring neurological or psychiatric disease.

CURRENT RESEARCH

Although interest in the field is growing, relatively little research is being done on the psychology of aging. Many of the projects now operating are modest in scope and handicapped by insufficient funds. Some graduate students and psychologists with the doctorate who have worked in the field have been wooed away by offers promising greater security and opportunity for advancement. This is particularly depressing when one considers the importance of the problem of an aging population and the fact that only the surface has been scratched in the areas that have received the most attention, such as the relation of age to intelligence. We know very little about the etiology of the sensory and motor changes which apparently occur in a very large percentage of older people. We are almost wholly ignorant of the factors responsible for the major mental disorders of later life. There are wide areas in the psychology of later maturity where not a single study has been undertaken.

Polling the Fellows and Associates of the Division of Maturity and Old Age of the American Psychological Association in the summer of 1949, Shock found that forty projects were being actively prosecuted in the field of aging. A large percentage of the projects centered on attitudes and personal adjustment of the aged. Interviews, questionnaires, and rating scales were the instruments most frequently employed. Three-quarters of the projects were based at Baltimore, Chicago, and Syracuse.

Repeating the Shock study in the

summer of 1951 on the same group, Kaplan found that an increase had taken place in work on the psychology of aging during the two-year interval. Fifty distinct projects were being investigated at twenty-two centers. Particularly impressive were the appearance of many new faces among the researchers and the spreading of activity over the country. There was proportionately less emphasis on personal adjustment and the tools usually employed in assessing it. The diversification of research activity is an encouraging development. It is probable that the Shock and Kaplan surveys do not fully represent the extent of American effort in the later-maturity field. Many psychologists who are interested in aging are not members of the Division of Maturity and Old Age, and many data on aging are obtained as by-products of research which has some other focus.

Titles of current research projects include the following: The Mental Health of the Centenarian; Evaluation of an Educational Program for Vassar Graduates over Sixty Five; Psychological Factors in the Development of Heart Diseases; Evaluation of Sex Hormone Therapy in Aged Women; Processes of Aging in Chimpanzees; Employment Potentialities of Older People; and A Study of Strength of Grip in Senescence. There are at least a dozen studies in progress on the intellectual aspects of aging. One of the most important investigations now underway is one on the role of heredity which is being carried forward by Kallmann and his associates.

The science of gerontology is in its infancy. Few of the scientific giants of our time have been attracted to its service. Many who profess interest in its problems are concerned with them only in a peripheral way. Gerontology

is the stepchild of public and private agencies that support research in the social and life sciences. Some even question its right to a separate existence. Understaffed, neglected, at the very beginning of its career as a science, it stands at the threshold of a long and brilliant history.

Oscar J. Kaplan, Ph.D., San Diego, California, is chairman of the Department of Psychology at San Diego State College. He is editor of the Newsletter of the Division of Maturity and Old Age of the American Psychological Association, and represents his division on the Council of that association. From 1946 to 1950 he served on the Gerontology Study Section of the United States Public Health Service. He edited Mental Disorders in Later Life (1945) and is author of numerous articles on the psychology of later maturity.

Social Participation of the Aged in Different Cultures

By LEO WILLIAM SIMMONS

A PROMINENT physician recently remarked that pediatrics is essentially a medical matter, but that geriatrics is, after all, a sociological problem. However much one may choose to qualify such a statement, there will remain some pertinent and provocative truth in it; for in the course of human experience it is apparent that the initial priority of biological forces in life becomes profoundly affected by the superimposed sociological factors. This is especially true with respect to aging, and provides a source of insight both into the evolution of human societies capable of carrying large numbers of old people and also into the life cycle of the individuals who manage to reach and to face a ripe old age.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF AGING

The farther back one goes into primitive and rudimentary forms of association the fewer old people are to be found, and those, quite generally, with old age attributed to them at a much earlier chronological date than in advanced societies. It is reported, for example, that the Arawak of British Guiana, under native conditions, seldom attained more than fifty years. "Between the thirtieth and the fortieth years, in the case of men, and even earlier in the case of women, the rest of the body, except the stomach, shrinks, the fat disappears, and the skin hangs in hideous folds." Arunta women of Australia were regarded as very fortunate if they reached fifty, and it is said of the Bontok Igorot in the Philippines that a woman reached "her prime" at twenty-three, at thirty she was "getting old," before forty-five she was

"old," and by fifty, if she was so fortunate as to see fifty, she was a "mass of wrinkles from foot to forehead." Among the Bushmen of South Africa it is reported that "really old people are rare." The Creeks of North America had a saying that parents were lucky whenever they lived to see gray hairs on the heads of their children.¹

It is of further note that human societies met the problems of a fruitful and satisfying old age for *some* individuals long before there was any opportunity for many people even to grow old. Indeed, in certain quite primitive groups the aging years of life have been actually regarded as the best. Probably nowhere, for instance, has age been viewed in a more favorable light or accorded greater homage than among the Palaung of North Burma, who attribute their longevity to virtue in a previous existence. In anthropological perspective it is literally true that societies achieved a very good old age for a few long before there could be any substantial age at all for the many. But modern civilization has reversed the process and the problems.

Another interesting contrast is portrayed in the relative uniformity of the patterns of adjustment to birth and childhood and the very much greater diversity of socially prescribed ways of coping with the problems of age and death.

Some of the extremes in cultural variations with respect to aging can be sketched offhand: Old age has been

¹ Leo W. Simmons, *The Role of the Aged in Primitive Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 17. Cites original references.

said to begin quite early or rather late in life, and it may last a very long or a short time. By conventional norms, its coming may be resented and discounted or welcomed and treasured. It may be considered an idle and useless period in life or an active and fruitful one. It may bring promotions in position and homage or demotions in both. It may be expected to drag itself out in dull, tedious boredom or to go by quickly with interest and zest. Thus, the onset of aging may be viewed as a curse on the one hand or as a challenge on the other. But most peoples meet it somewhere between these two extremes.

The liability phase

A stage is reached, however, in the experience of aging where one finds almost everywhere a surprising degree of uniformity in attitude and social response. Although there is wide range of socially sanctioned adaptations in different societies, a point comes in senescence where any fruitful participation is regarded as past, and the incumbent is looked upon as a definite liability. Senility may be a suitable label for this phase of life; but it is not entirely apt in that it implies extreme physical weakness and/or mental infirmity, while the main idea conveyed is that of being regarded by members of the group as inconsequential and a hopeless burden. This is a status which may be attained under various degrees of physical and mental debility in different societies. Some primitive folk use a term which implies "over-aged," "useless," or the "sleeping" stage in life. And everywhere for the aged in this state, unless death provides an early release, the prospects for further aging, and the attitudes toward it, tend to be uniformly dismal. Apparently all societies differentiate between old age in general and this pa-

thetic plight in which the individual is regarded merely as a long-sufferer and a social obligation.

Of particular pertinence in the evolution of the social dynamics of aging is the observation that the overaged, useless, or liability phase of senescence actually has had little significance for the simple societies which were never able to sustain more than a few really old people anyway, and those under conditions in which the very helpless could not long survive. But this helpless and hopeless period in life takes on paramount importance in our modern times and in complex civilizations which are so successfully solving the physical problems of a potential old age for the multitudes. When we envisage the possibilities of sustaining and prolonging life far into this phase, perhaps even with eliminations and substitutions for all but the more vital organs and elements of the human body, the emerging problems of overaging are greatly magnified. If we add to this the recognized fact that the "useless" period in life is socially and culturally determined and may be moved up as well as pushed back in years, the potential problems of anything like successful aging become staggering. The societal fates can become most unfortunate for aging in our times, of course, if so many old people are made to feel useless much too early in life and find the twilight years empty, lonely, and too long-lasting. Thus can civilization create more problems of aging than it has yet solved.

INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE IN AGING

We have stressed the conditioning impact of society upon the experience of aging in general. But this is not the whole story. The initial and basic biological forces in life are no less critically affected by sociological factors in the life history of every person who lives

to be old. Anyone's success in aging will depend measurably upon facing up to these factors in an active and participating way. And while society sets the stage, sketches out the plot of the play, and provides the conditions for more or less successful aging, the initiative must spring substantially from the individual. And where many fail, some will always succeed.

It would appear that any sustaining group support for aging comes primarily through the adaptive behavior of the individual to group life. There are tremendous possibilities for a ripe and rewarding old age in some societies, but only in those that have *acquired* the norms, attitudes, and patterns of reciprocal response between youth and age which provide group support, and then mainly by personal participation and adaptation thereto. Thus, successful aging is something to be achieved both by society and by the individual.

In sum, then, the opportunities to grow old and to participate effectively in group life stem very largely from social rather than innate factors and from acquiring individual skill and initiative instead of, or in addition to, biological endowments. These same opportunities may be won or lost by pressures or changes in the social milieu, or by the apt or inept attempts at adaptation by the particular individual. It takes the two parts, neatly fitted, to make for wholesome and prolonged participation. The secret of success for anyone facing a long life, therefore, is to find for himself a suitable place in his society in which to age with grace and usefulness, and to participate tactfully and fully up to the very end if at all possible.

MANIPULATION OF DEPENDENCY

It is perhaps a truism that everywhere in the human cycle life begins with the dependency of the young on those who are older, and it generally

ends with the dependency of the old on those who are younger. But while there is no way to escape a set period of dependency in youth, there can be much or little dependency in old age, conditioned in part by how long a person may live and also by how well he is able to participate in the affairs of the group.

It is also easy to see that protective care is more firmly assured for dependency at the beginning than at the end of life. Whatever there may be of a protective parental "instinct" is certainly not matched with as strong filial tendencies. A good old age for almost anyone anywhere depends essentially upon the amount of persuasion or enforcement which can be brought to bear upon the young and the strong to respect and provide for the interests of the old and the feeble who are no longer able to provide for themselves. In personal relationships this will depend largely, as always, upon the homage which can be inspired, the contributions which still can be made, and the rights and prerogatives which can be manipulated by the aged. Even in the most favorable societies for aging, it is still mainly up to the old to elicit and secure the kind of respect and support which the culture dictates as rightfully due them. Any aging that is worth the effort is rarely a passive and withdrawing role; and as the situation becomes more desperate the interpersonal relationships become more vital, and the participation must needs remain active and effective, however veiled and subtle.

Indeed, the degree and the quality of the participation may constitute the measure of success in aging even when the individual is finally confined to his room and bed. Anyone observant of these last days and years of aging can note a very significant lapse of group interest and supportive care when an aged sufferer has reached a state of

being "comatose" and without further powers to respond. Perhaps it should be no surprise that success here correlates so closely with the degree and quality of sustained participation. It would seem that just to remain in touch, "gamy," and responsive to the end helps out in aging, at least if one wishes "to make it good" to the very last.

AREAS AND FORMS OF PARTICIPATION

In addition to ensuring opportunities for longevity, we have seen that society provides the framework for the participation of at least some of its aging members, and it also assigns, as well as defines, the positions and functions which they are to perform. In relatively simple and static societies the statuses and roles of participation are sex typed, and sometimes aptitude rated, as well as age graded. Everyone belonging to a society of this kind comes to know approximately where he stands and how he may participate at a particular period in his life span, and this is especially true of the older members of the group. But in complex and fluid social systems with rapid change and recurrent confusion over status and role, no one's position is so well fixed—least of all that of the aging. Thus, a general principle is that in the long and steady strides of a social order the aged find themselves fixed and favored in position and performance, but when conditions become unstable and the rate of change reaches a galloping pace the more youthful find opportunities in their favor and may become much earlier seated in the saddle.

With such qualifications regarding social change, it is reasonable to forecast, roughly, that an aging person's opportunities to participate successfully in his social milieu will depend largely upon the structure and the development of such major social institutions as the economic order, the forms of family life, the types of recreational and edu-

cational facilities, the religio-magical rites and functions, and the political system. Within these five institutional configurations, old people are found participating everywhere, with various degrees of success, in at least the following five distinguishable forms of activity: the performance of auxiliary services, the pursuit of specialized skills, the exercise of established rights and prerogatives, the dispensation of knowledge and wisdom in decision-making, and the administration of rites and rituals related to the crises and mysteries of life.

AUXILIARY SERVICES

By all odds, the most basic and widespread form of participation for aging persons with waning physical powers is to be found in assisting others with economic enterprises and household chores—essentially simple and routine work with the hands. Indeed, the *hands* of the aged, as adaptive and surviving organs of participation, grow in significance along with the years. Everywhere in human societies the aged are found helping out with the lighter tasks on the trail, in the field, the camp site, the shop, the office, and the household, and at almost any jobs that they can find to do. By these activities they retain a sense of place and performance in the group, and gain thereby a little more consideration and security.

An example may be drawn from a contemporary aboriginal group, the Hopi in northeastern Arizona, a herding and farming people.

Old men among the Hopi tend their flocks until feeble and nearly blind. When they can no longer follow the herd, they work on in their fields and orchards, frequently lying down on the ground to rest. They also make shorter and shorter trips to gather herbs, roots, and fuel. When unable to go to the fields any longer they sit in the house or kiva where they card and spin, knit, weave blankets, carve wood, or

make sandals. Some continue to spin when they are blind or unable to walk, and it is a common saying that "An old man can spin to the end of his life." Corn shelling is women's work but men will do it, especially in their dotage. Old women will cultivate their garden patches until very feeble and "carry wood and water as long as they are able to move their legs." They prepare milling stones, weave baskets and plaques out of rabbit weed, make pots and bowls from clay, grind corn, darn old clothes, care for children, and guard the house; and when there is nothing else to do, they will sit out in the sun and watch the drying fruit. The old frequently express the desire to "keep on working" until they die.²

Although opportunities for participation differ greatly under various social systems, they have tended to increase with cultural advances, especially up to and including agricultural economies, and have proved to be great assets to the aging. In modern industrialized societies the opportunities for such labor of the hands may be greatly multiplied, but the competition of younger persons for the same tasks may simultaneously become so intensified as to rule out any extended participation of the aged. Therefore, retirement from even the simpler tasks may come earlier and more abruptly for the aging. It is not enough that there are a multiplicity of these tasks for aging hands; the continued services of the aged must be needed and appreciated by those in the society who are in a position to make the decisions.

It is also true that such labors of necessity often ensure little more than a bare subsistence, for the menial and humdrum tasks which not infrequently fall to the lot of old people may sometimes become little more than demonstrations into drudgery, and they can con-

stitute something like the last feeble attempts at participation and survival. A satisfactory relationship for the aged generally requires additional and more effective adjustments.

SPECIALIZED SKILLS

In most societies, however primitive, the more gifted and diligent among the aged generally possess some expert skills which enable them to monopolize, or at least to supervise, certain specialized tasks or functions. Not infrequently, they are experts in the arts and crafts, such as pottery, basketry, housebuilding, boat construction, metal work, and the manufacture of clothing, tools, weapons, and other implements. They may also excel in the decorative arts. Moreover, they are often in demand as directors of hazardous projects, of complicated techniques and procedures, and as specialists in the performance of such personal services as operations to enhance physical charm or the treatment and relief of physical ailments. In the course of a long life they can and do take advantage of the opportunity to acquire superiority in practical and esthetic skills that stand them in good stead during the years of declining physical prowess.

But again, in our complex civilization, where the range and the number of specialities are so vastly magnified, the aging really find fewer opportunities to compete successfully with more youthful experts. Indeed, except for a very few highly gifted persons, the organization and the professionalization of the specialities have reached such high development, and the training of youth in these skills is accomplished so early in life, that a capable young person may reasonably expect to overtake or surpass a parent or grandparent long before he himself begins to age.

Probably never in the history of man have the skills of the aged become so

² Leo W. Simmons, "Attitudes Toward Aging and the Aged: Primitive Societies," *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. I (Jan. 1946), p. 79.

effectively shelved by the trained aptitudes of youth. Unless the aged are very gifted, their chances now for prolonged participation, except as a pastime, are better in the esoteric or "fringe" specialties, where competition is light, than in the skills which are in common demand. Relatively few really old people are regarded as indispensable any more because of their specialized capabilities. And perhaps it is chiefly this fact that calls for and justifies in our culture the rise of the modern hobby interests, which provide at best a kind of playful participation.

RIGHTS AND PREROGATIVES

One of the most important areas for prolonged and effective participation is in the exercise of rights and prerogatives. Long lives have afforded the aged ample opportunities to fix their claims in close accord with the cultural codes; and as their days shorten and their physical powers wane, these established prerogatives become for them like long arms for extended participation in the daily affairs of life. In many societies the effects of these prerogatives are felt long after death has claimed their possessors, as, for example, in the last testaments respecting property and in the late admonitions of departing patriarchs.

Property rights are excellent examples of these prerogatives. They are among the most flexible, impersonal, and effective means of obligating others to do one's biddings. Generally, where such rights are firmly entrenched in a society, they enable the possessors to accumulate and to store up credits against the hard days ahead; and since the enforcement of property rights rests upon the social codes and the surveillance of appointed agents, empowered with group sanctions, all that an aging possessor needs to do is to meet the terms of the code. He does not have

to defend these rights by his own strength. Thus with a backlog or a bank roll of established claims, he is in a position to manipulate other people into obeying his orders long after he is too feeble to do much himself. It is certainly true that wherever these rights are well developed in a society, there is a marked difference in the participation of aging persons with and without property. Indeed, few contrasts are more pronounced in the status and role of the aged.

In an over-all survey, it would appear that property rights as a means of participation by aging persons had a very simple beginning and have increased in importance with the development of more complex social systems and advanced cultures. Of course, wherever the existing property of a group becomes concentrated in the hands of a very small proportion of the population, its effectiveness as a means of participation for the majority of the aged is greatly diminished. Under such circumstances it is possible for large numbers of old people to become very dependent in a land of plenty.

Another way in which the aging may exercise their rights and prerogatives to very good effect is in family relationships. Within the ties of kith and kin, the obligations of youth to age are so nearly universal that they cut across most cultural traits and trends and are not greatly hindered by varied combinations of them. Not infrequently aging persons manipulate such bonds to great advantage, finding in these relationships opportunities for participation which reach far into senility and sometimes past it, as by the last wishes and testaments.

One means by which the aging hold onto effective family ties is by marriage to younger mates—a rather widespread practice, especially among men. Aged

women who wish to extend their influence through family life more often find themselves unable to marry younger men, but in some societies they encourage their husbands to take younger spouses whom they may be able to manage.

But a more extensive right than marriage is the rank and authority which aging persons hold in the family, and these powers and vested interests often affect a wide circle of relatives. A relationship of special interest here is the close association of the old with the very young. Frequently they are left together while the able-bodied of both sexes go forth to secure the family fare. These older people protect and instruct the children, who, in turn, are as "eyes, ears, hands, and feet" to their enfeebled old friends. In a social sense, the aged thus return to childhood, finding therein a useful occupation and an active interest for the long, dull days of their dotage.

But as the old people suffer increasing loss of both physical and mental powers, without prospects of regaining them, they differ significantly from the young, the sick, and the temporarily disabled. They have to retreat permanently from the rigors of life and seek their refuge in the bosom of the family, there to take up a kind of last stand and to rely more and more upon their kinsmen. Such a retreat to domestic shelter, however, does not imply a passive existence. Success up to the end requires that participation continue, however restrained and subtle it may become.

KNOWLEDGE AND WISDOM

In primitive societies an aged man or woman has a distinct advantage in knowledge, wisdom, and good judgment in decision-making. Without written records, where all that is known must be retained by memory, old people are

repositories of valuable information and are in a favored position to make seasoned judgments. Such powers accumulate with age, and outlast physical stamina. The possessors of these qualifications are in constant demand for imparting general information, interpreting strange and mysterious phenomena, pronouncing upon ethical standards, diagnosing personal ailments, and providing comfort and guidance to the distraught and bereaved. Seers, magicians, medicine men, and priests are frequently old people. They serve as mediators between man and the great unknown, the imaginary environment which is believed to be peopled with unfriendly spirits and devils as well as benevolent beings and gods. When faced with common perplexities and personal crises of every kind, primitive people generally turn to their "old wise ones" for help and counsel; and the aging individual with enough experience, insight, and gumption to suggest or do something, or even make it appear that something can be done in the hour of human need, usually reaps a reward. The Hebrew axiom that "with the ancient is wisdom; and in length of days understanding" is practically universal among primitive peoples.

Political, judicial, and civil preferences and positions are often, also, the normal outcome of such personal growth in the lifetime acquirements of knowledge, wisdom, and sound judgment. The titles and often the offices tend to be lifelong. Old men may serve long and well as lawmakers, judges, and administrators of justice. Moreover, as leaders in exclusive societies and in initiatory rites, the aging quite generally exercise the powers of discrimination and receive considerable deference.

Positions of influence in decision-making, which depend little upon the

manipulation of things and greatly upon the manipulation of people, constitute perhaps the peak of power in participation. Thus the influence gained from the strain and toil of physical activity rarely matches the power exercised by knowledge, wisdom, and skill in social relationships. In other words, it is the exercise of brain more than brawn, of wits more than works, that sets and maintains the highest levels of participation by old people.

In old age, such opportunities and powers appear to depend mainly on three factors: individual ability and initiative, sex, and a favorable combination of social and cultural conditions. Age alone rarely qualifies one here. There must also be individual ability, and growth in experience, wit, and tact. Even then, however, a point is reached in aging where these may disappear.

RITES AND RITUALS

Aging persons with special qualifications in knowledge, wisdom, and experience also find many opportunities to exercise their influence in the more formalized ceremonies, magical rites, and religious practices. They often become the officiating agents in the critical events of the life cycle, such as childbirth, child naming, initiations, weddings, funerals, and memorial ceremonies.

There is usually an element of mystery and chance associated with these emergencies and critical events of life. It is generally believed that it is not always strength of brawn or practical work that staves off bad luck, that wins the maiden's hand, that brings children to bless a family, that drives out or heals disease, that controls the weather, divines omens, casts out evil influences, and placates angry gods. It is a special power, strange, mysterious, often ritualistic, and most potent, as well as

safest, when guided by the wisdom and experience of the aged and wise ones.

Here, also, the aged possess a further advantage, for should a charm or rite or ceremony miscarry, they can with their superior knowledge and experience explain away the failure. They can confidently affirm in the face of mischance that had it not been for the additional rite of performance, matters could have turned out far worse. Thus in many societies the wise old people are able to serve on into their late years by a ritualization of their experience of the past, by tempering the ill luck of the present, and by cushioning the hard fate of the future—and this is often an indispensable contribution to the younger members of the group.

DISCUSSION

This summary exploration of attitudes toward the participation of aging persons in the affairs of life reinforces the idea recurring from varied approaches, namely, that while modern civilization has greatly progressed in the promise of longer life for larger proportions of the population, it has disrupted many of the time-tested adaptations of the aged, and perhaps even regressed in its solution of the problem of successful aging. Probably the most important lesson to gain from a broad coverage of different peoples is that the basic qualities of successful aging rest, after all, upon the capacity of individuals to fit well into the social framework of their own times, to win their rights to prolonged participation and recognition, and to know when they are through. Apparently there are no equally successful substitutes for this, the functional rights and the appropriate behavior in aging.

There are grounds to believe that while we have made much ado over the

discovery of adolescence as a unique stage in life experience, and recognized it as quite different from adulthood, we are continuing—mistakenly—to regard aging as little more than a somewhat discredited extension of mid-adulthood. This conception of old age as a hang-over of mid-life implies a pattern of adjustment which may be characterized as holding on and/or trying to beat a slow and often resentful retreat from the norms and standards of mid-life, rather than a challenge for a different kind of life with new horizons. A “holding-the-line” pattern, while good strategy for some, may be much less than the best course of adjustment for others, especially for those who are still forward-looking, capable, and resourceful.

There are some quite justifiable reasons to assume that a shift from mid-life to old age can be as significant a change as that from adolescence to adulthood, and the range of variations in the successful fruition of life in old age may really be much wider than it is for youth. We may find it very profitable, in short, to explore the possibilities inherent in the idea that old

age in our modern civilization constitutes what may be quite properly regarded as a new lease on life which, in optimum fulfillment, calls for new ways of living, ways possibly as different from those of mid-life as adolescence is from adulthood.

We are accustomed to hear a great deal about the *problems*, and little about the *opportunities*, of old age, almost as if aging were to be regarded as a curse, after all our efforts to attain it. We often seem to forget that the prospect that so many of us will reach old age is a most remarkable achievement and known only to recent times. Likewise, we stress what society may do for the aged, instead of what the aged may discover in themselves and for the rest of society. We need to heed the principle that people have aged most successfully when they have discovered or created for themselves effective positions and roles in the very societies of which they are a part. It is possible that these potentialities wait to be rediscovered, developed, and refitted into our own times. This may, indeed, be an old frontier that calls for new pioneering.

Leo William Simmons, Ph.D., New York City, is professor of sociology at Yale University, at present serving as social anthropologist with the Russell Sage Foundation and visiting professor of anthropology in medicine and nursing at the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center. His chief publications are Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian (1942) and The Role of the Aged in Primitive Societies (1945).

Older Persons in the Labor Force

By GERTRUDE BANCROFT

THE position of older persons in the labor force today and their probable status during the next few decades should be of absorbing interest to all adults. Among population groups subject to possible disadvantage or discrimination in the labor market, the older group is the most universally vulnerable. Many persons can live out their working lives untouched directly by the factors that adversely affect the employment of women, of Negroes, of the foreign-born or other minority groups, but none can escape the effects of age—as it influences both his own employment and that of someone to whom he is closely related.

It is hardly a revelation to point out that with the advancing age of the population, the number of workers who are retired or facing retirement or striving to remain in the labor force for economic or emotional reasons will be growing every year. Likewise the number of families using part of their income to help support older persons, whether in the labor force or not, may be expected to become ever larger. Hence, it is important to examine what can be anticipated in the way of opportunities for older persons to continue to keep their place in the productive economy and to contribute rather than to become wholly dependent on their families or on society.

ATTITUDES TOWARD RETIREMENT

Much of the current discussion on the problems of the aging assumes at the start that it is socially and economically desirable for older people to remain employed on some basis as long as they wish to and are able to. Furthermore, most older workers are as-

sumed to want to remain in the labor force. This latter is probably a valid assumption, although it has not had statistical verification except on a limited basis. One piece of evidence is that by no means all workers eligible for old-age and survivors insurance benefits are receiving them. At the beginning of 1951, about two-fifths of the persons 65 and over who were fully insured were not drawing payments, most of them, presumably, because of employment. It may be inferred that they chose to remain at work.

Other evidence derives from studies of old-age insurance beneficiary "retirements" between 1940 and 1947¹ made in twenty middle-sized and large cities. These suggest that in those areas retirement of the beneficiaries studied had not been voluntary. Only one in twenty had been able to quit work voluntarily and in good health. After retirement many had again sought and found employment. The compelling reason for return to the labor force seemed to be not a desire to be busy and useful, however, but need for additional income to maintain anything like the previous standard of living. These studies were made in fairly large urban centers. In smaller communities or in rural areas, where living costs tend to be lower, the findings might differ. Fortunately, a similar survey on a nation-wide basis by the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance is in prospect which should give more conclusive answers.

It is possible that if retirement did not bring financial hardship for most

¹ Margaret L. Stecker, "Beneficiaries Prefer to Work," *Social Security Bulletin*, January 1951, pp. 15-17.

people, attitudes might differ sharply as to the desirability of retaining a place in the labor force. There was some evidence of a temporary reduction in labor force activity of men 65 and over following the 1950 liberalization of the Social Security Act, despite the new provision that a person could earn as much as \$50 a month in covered employment and still draw benefits. This suggests that some older workers believed that employment was no longer necessary and perhaps welcomed the chance to enjoy a more leisurely life. The average size of monthly benefit (\$42 for a retired worker, or \$72 for a retired worker and his wife, in December 1950) would hardly be enough to permit a life free from financial cares but, in combination with income of other family members or income from other sources, might in some cases be the crucial amount.

It is hoped that through the growing interest in the aging population valid information will be developed on the relation of income to attitudes of this group toward complete or partial retirement, both for persons anticipating retirement and those already out of the labor force, voluntarily or involuntarily.

DEFINITION OF "OLDER WORKER"

The use of the comparative adjective "older" in a discussion of this kind is in part an obvious form of escape through euphemism. No one wants to be labeled "old" but all of us are "older" than someone. In part, however, it reflects the elasticity of the concept. Age, like beauty, may be "in the eye of the beholder," but it is also closely related, as far as labor force activity is concerned, to occupation. The age at which a person becomes an "older worker" will vary by as much as forty or fifty years depending on whether he or she is a prize fighter, a chorus girl, a ballplayer, a plasterer,

a piano tuner, a symphony conductor, a lawyer, or a college president. For purposes of summarization, it is necessary to be arbitrary and to ignore these basic differences, however.

Tradition and social insurance provisions tend to set 65 as the retirement age, but the problems of older persons in the labor force give evidence of their existence before this age. On the basis of the census statistical classifications, older persons in the labor force might be defined as those 55 years old or more. For men, the peak age groups are those from 25 to 54, in the sense that these are the groups which have the largest proportion in the labor force—employed or looking for work. Therefore, the next age group, in which the statistics show a marked dropping off in this proportion, might be said to begin the "older" group. In the following discussion the activity of persons 55 to 64 years of age will be shown separately from that of those 65 and over, wherever possible.

OLDER PERSONS IN THE LABOR FORCE TODAY.

Currently, in a typical month one out of every six civilians in the labor force is at least 55 years old.² That is, almost 11 million persons working for pay or in a family business, or looking for work, are 55 years old or over. (Three millions are 65 or more.) More than 8 million are men; over 2 million, women. Most of the older persons who are not in the labor force are "voluntarily" idle, retired, or engaged in keeping house (12.6 million). Only 2.3 million are estimated as permanently unable to work or in institutions.

² Based on data from the Current Population Survey, a monthly survey of a cross section of the population conducted by the Census Bureau. See *Current Population Reports*, Series P-57 and P-50.

TABLE 1—PER CENT OF CIVILIAN
POPULATION IN LABOR FORCE
BY AGE, APRIL 1951

Age	Men	Women
14-15 years	22.1	7.3
16-17 years	43.5	26.4
18-19 years	70.6	48.3
20-24 years	85.0	44.8
25-34 years	95.1	34.4
35-44 years	96.1	38.7
45-54 years	94.4	37.8
55-64 years	86.0	28.0
65 years and over	43.5	9.1

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, "Monthly Report on the Labor Force," Series P-57, No. 106. Adapted from Table 6.

When expressed in terms of "worker rates," that is, proportion of population in labor force, the participation of older persons in gainful economic activity is seen to be significantly less than for the central age groups. Among older men it corresponds roughly to participation in the late teens and early twenties, but among women it drops back to the level common among girls of high school age. As of April 1951, the percentage of each age-sex group in the labor force is shown in Table 1.

The industries in which older persons make the largest contributions, numerically, are extremely varied with respect to their wage levels, and consequently their status, social as well as economic. Industries with one-fifth or more of their work force consisting of men 55 and over in April 1951, were agriculture, transportation (railroads in particular), finance, insurance and real estate, personal services, professional services, and state and local government.³ Men 65 and over had the

best chance in agriculture, finance, insurance and real estate, and personal and professional services.

No industry provided relatively as many jobs for older women as for older men. In agriculture, retail trade, service industries, particularly service in private households, professional services, and public administration are found the largest proportions of women 55 and over—roughly 10 per cent.

On the one hand, then, in activities where principles of seniority have been long established or where job security is legal or quasi-legal such as government, education, or transportation, the older worker has an advantage, or at least is not at a disadvantage. On the other hand, industries in which wage rates are comparatively low, such as agriculture, trade, and some of the service industries, make use of older workers, as they do of youngsters of school age, because they cannot attract the more productive workers in the other age groups. Finally, where small independent enterprises are common, such as in agriculture and trade, the older worker can continue along for many years as his own employer if he can make a go of it financially. In April 1951, almost one-third of the employed men 55-64 years of age were self-employed, and almost two-fifths of those 65 and over. Among women 55-64 only 15 per cent were self-employed, but for those 65 and over the percentage was about 25.

PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT

Part-time employment has often been proposed as a means by which older persons can remain at work on a basis that takes account of their strength and health. Currently, however, the great majority of older workers are still full-time workers. Almost all male workers in the central age groups and about

³ Bureau of the Census, unpublished data from the Current Population Survey. Unless otherwise specified, all of the figures cited in the remainder of this article are from this source. Since they are based on a sample, they are subject to sampling variability which may be particularly large for the 65 and over group.

three-quarters of the female workers work full time (35 hours a week or more) as a usual thing, except for illness, vacation, or other factors. Part-time employment becomes much more common in the 55-64 age group, but even among persons 65 and over, far fewer than half were working less than 35 hours in April 1951 (25 per cent of the males and about 40 per cent of the females). More farm workers than nonfarm workers work part time, as a rule, in these age groups.

The picture taken as a cross section of activity during a single week is confirmed by the work experience pattern over a whole year. Part-time work was a usual thing for less than one-tenth of men 55-64 years of age who worked during 1950, but for almost one-quarter of those 65 and over. For women, who at almost all ages must combine housekeeping with other activities, one-third usually worked part time in the 55-64 ages, and about one-half among those 65 and over. Full-time employment was the goal of the remaining workers in these age groups, but, as among workers in other age groups, many of them did not have full-time employment the year round because of periods of slack work, sickness,

withdrawal from the labor force, and other reasons. These interruptions were noticeably more frequent for the population 65 and over; little difference was observed between the 55-64 group and the next younger group.

To what extent do older workers work less than full time because they wish to? Various studies of part-time employment conducted by the Census Bureau have given a basis for judgment on this point. These studies have repeatedly shown that part-time employment is usually voluntary in an era of full employment, like the present. Older persons work part time on a voluntary basis fairly frequently after the age of 65, but, even at this age, the majority of employed persons usually work full time. The situation, again, differs for men and women, as is shown in Table 2.

Few of the regular part-time workers were in manufacturing, the largest single major industry class. Should a program of planned part-time work for older workers be inaugurated in this industry to meet labor shortages or as part of a general program for older workers, it is likely that the situation shown by the census study would change markedly. Not only would some workers

TABLE 2—PERSONS AT WORK, CLASSIFIED BY FULL- AND PART-TIME STATUS, MAY 1951
(Per cent distribution)

Employment status	Men			Women		
	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 years and over	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 years and over
Total at work	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Worked full time	94.6	90.9	78.7	75.6	71.2	58.7
Worked part time	5.4	9.1	21.3	24.4	28.8	41.3
Usually work full time	3.0	4.2	3.8	4.4	3.8	1.9
Usually work part time	2.4	4.9	17.5	20.0	25.0	39.4
Prefer and could accept full-time work	1.0	1.1	1.5	3.1	2.2	2.8
Do not prefer full-time work	1.4	3.8	16.0	16.9	22.8	36.6

Source: Bureau of the Census, unpublished data from the Current Population Survey.

currently working full time prefer a less exacting schedule, but retired workers might be expected to return to the labor force under those more favorable conditions.

WARTIME EXPERIENCE OF OLDER PERSONS

Anyone who remained in civilian life during World War II will remember the numerous aged telegraph messenger "girls," delivery "boys," waiters and waitresses, plumbers, doctors, and their contemporaries filling in for younger workers who had gone to war or had transferred to war production jobs, generally at higher rates of pay. These were the people who met the public. Thousands of other older workers were employed in factories or on construction jobs. Statistically, how did the older ones count up? In 1944 there averaged 6.7 million men and women 55-64 years old and 2.9 million 65 and over in the labor force—almost 10 million persons or nearly one-fifth of the civilians who kept the American economy going. In 1940 the number had been only 8 million or about one-seventh of the total.

Because of the long depression of the 1930's, a fairly substantial decline in labor force activity of older men had taken place, giving further impetus to an already recognized long-term trend. Thus, during the war it was estimated that close to one million of these workers were "extra"—that is, they would not have been in the labor force except for the war. It was expected that when the war ended the long-term downward trend would be resumed and the shrinkage of the older labor force might be especially sharp after the war demand for manpower was over. Subsequent developments have not confirmed these speculations. Rather, although wartime peaks were not sustained, the

TABLE 3—PER CENT OF NONINSTITUTIONAL POPULATION IN THE LABOR FORCE. ANNUAL AVERAGES 1940-1950

	Men		Women	
	55-64 years	65 years and over	55-64 years	65 years and over
1940	87.2	45.0	18.7	7.4
1941	88.6	46.5	19.6	7.7
1942	90.5	47.8	22.1	8.4
1943	92.1	50.6	24.3	10.1
1944	92.1	52.3	25.5	9.8
1945	91.4	52.1	26.5	9.6
1946	89.6	48.5	23.6	8.4
1947	89.6	47.8	24.3	8.1
1948	89.5	46.8	24.3	9.1
1949	87.5	46.9	25.3	9.6
1950	87.0	45.8	27.0	9.7

Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey. Averages for 1940, 1941, and 1942 estimated from broader age groupings.

postwar period of relatively full employment and now the heightened activity of the renewed defense program have thus far maintained labor force participation at prewar levels for men and allowed for a further increase for women 55 and over.

Generally speaking, the industries that normally employ older workers relied more heavily on these age groups during the war. Some war plants could cite a few spectacular instances of 70-year-old lady chemists on their pay rolls, but those dramatic examples were the exception and are overshadowed by the more pedestrian jobs of the great mass of workers. Construction, in particular, was outstanding in the use of older workers. In 1944, 28 per cent of all construction workers were 55 or older as compared with 19 per cent in 1950. In trade, 16 per cent were in this age group during the war as compared with 14 per cent in 1950, and in service industries, 22 per cent as compared with 19 per cent.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRESENT DEFENSE PROGRAM

If the present defense program together with the high-level activity in civilian production presses too hard on the readily available labor supply, there is a substantial reserve among persons no longer in the labor force but who had wartime or postwar work experience, and who still are considered able to work. A Census Bureau survey in March 1951 disclosed about 13 million such persons, of whom 1.7 million were 65 or more. On their highest-paid war job, about half of the 1.2 million men 65 or more in this group had been skilled craftsmen, semiskilled operatives, or farmers; most of the women, semiskilled operatives and service workers.

When asked why they stopped working, most of them indicated that they thought they were too old to work, that they had become ill or disabled, or that they had wished to retire. Nevertheless, none of the group surveyed was currently considered permanently unable to work, so it is likely that for some the opening up of job opportunities would again serve as an attraction into the labor force, at least on a part-time basis. One-quarter of the older women but only one-tenth of the older men had been part-time workers.

Separate data are not available on the wartime work experience of persons 55 to 64 years of age not currently in the labor force, but on the basis of other information it may be estimated that about 1.5 million had recent work experience, war or postwar, and that a substantial proportion would be available to work again.

The Department of Labor has estimated that in order to meet manpower needs as projected in April 1951 for the 1951-52 defense program, it will be necessary to add a net 1.4 million to the

labor force, over and above the normal growth, and that these "extra" workers would have to come from among such groups as women, youth, the handicapped, and older workers.⁴ The census survey gives ample evidence that there is an adequate number of persons with recent work experience who are physically able to work, but that some of them are in the upper end of the age scale where special recruitment and placement measures will be required to make a satisfactory adjustment of workers to jobs.

PROSPECTS FOR OLDER MEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

If it is agreed that retirement from the labor force, in most instances, may not result in individual and social gain, then prospects for the future may be far from encouraging. Recent studies have made it possible to estimate the "working life expectancy" of men, using the same techniques that have long been familiar in the field of construction of life tables.⁵ This analysis shows that, if past trends continue into the future, we may expect the length of time a man spends in retirement to increase. Advances in medical and other science have prolonged the life span of the average man, but social and economic developments have tended to put a terminal point to his work activity.

To illustrate, a 40-year-old white man in 1900 could be expected on the average to live until he was almost 68 years old and to remain at work until he was 64½, having somewhat less than four years in retirement. In 1940, however, a 40-year-old white man could,

⁴ U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Projected Manpower Requirements and Supply for the Defense Program, 1951-52," Manpower Report No. 7, April 17, 1951.

⁵ U. S. Department of Labor, *Tables of Working Life*, Bulletin No. 1001, August 1950.

on the average, expect to live until he was 70 but could expect to retire from the labor force about six years before that. If the prewar trend in labor force activity of older males should continue, by 1975 the average retirement period might extend to nearly nine and a half years.

This calculation for the future, as has been indicated, is based on the assumption that prewar patterns will continue. Considerable discussion currently centers around the probable trends for older men—whether or not the sharp long-term decline in labor force participation of men 65 and over observed between 1890 and 1940 will continue or whether the experience of the wartime and postwar years in the employment of older workers means that a permanent change has taken place in attitudes toward their employment and in their job opportunities.

Factors tending to reduce labor force activity

One or two demographic factors which operate in a known fashion may be considered first. Chief among these, perhaps, is the growing urbanization of the population and the migration away from farms which have had the effect of reducing employment opportunities for older workers. In an agricultural economy, many hands are needed to meet seasonal and emergency needs, and there is room for the not too efficient worker, both young and old. Another factor operating in the same direction is the increasing longevity of the population. As the group past retirement age consists to a greater and greater extent of septuagenarians, the probability of employment in the group will diminish.

On the economic side, there are many factors whose effect is to reduce the probability of labor force activity among older men. The list is familiar.

Increasing industrialization and the development of highly mechanized operations in many industrial processes have put a premium on those attributes which tend to wane with advancing years, such as agility and speed, and have reduced the value of skills that become more highly developed with age and experience.

Another development which over the long run has meant reduced employment opportunities for older workers is the increase in wage or salaried employment and the decline in self-employment. Although the operator of a small independent business faces many financial hazards, it is nevertheless true that the man who is working for himself is not nearly so often handicapped by age. He may continue to operate his business or practice his profession at a reduced rate of activity or profit, if he so desires, long after his contemporary in a wage or salaried capacity has been retired. During the decade of the 1940's the decline in self-employment was very marked. In 1940, just over half of all employed men 65 and over were working their own farms or operating their own businesses; in 1951, only two-fifths. In the next younger age group (55-64), the decline was from two-fifths to one-third.

The ability to retire voluntarily from the labor force at an advanced age and to remain self-supporting has always been rated high in our society. One manifestation of this is, of course, the social security program for old-age insurance and the recent rapid growth of private pension plans, now so important an issue in trade union policies. There is no reason to believe that, short of a depression, there will be a halt to the development of such plans.

Economic depression in itself would bring about labor force retirements of the most painful kind. The experience of older workers during the Great De-

pression of the 1930's showed that although they had a lower unemployment rate than the younger workers, they were less able to achieve re-employment, and had longer periods of joblessness. As a consequence, many left the labor force permanently, after the fruitless search for jobs.

Factors tending to increase labor force activity

What are the factors which may be expected to operate in the other direction—that is, to permit or compel workers past the usual retirement age of 65 to remain active in the labor market? Most of these might be called “short-run” factors in the sense that their operation has been observed only in the fairly recent past in a period of full employment, and, at times, of labor shortage. With the present state of international tension and the wide-scale defense program, however, it is possible that what has seemed a temporary interruption of normal peacetime trends may become the normal. As indicated earlier, an unprecedented increase in labor force activity took place during the years of World War II. As a result, the long-term downward trend was interrupted, and at the end of the decade of the 1940's the proportion of men 65 and over in the labor force was at about the level of ten years earlier. For the first time in the past sixty years, there was no drop between the beginning of one decade and the beginning of the next. On the basis of what we know about the past, it is not unlikely that some further decline will be seen in the coming decades, but the extent or rate of the decline is a matter of controversy.

As the defense program steps up, it is expected that manpower will again have to be shifted from trade and service pursuits to activities labeled essential, and that again the older person

who desires to work may be welcomed to fill the empty jobs in the occupations which traditionally have been open to him. On the basis of World War II experience, close to a million men 55 and over could possibly be added to the labor force. Impetus for them to seek employment has undoubtedly already been given by the rise in the cost of living and the diminishing value of the dollars they may be receiving in pensions or other forms of fixed income. This last factor may be more important than any other consideration affecting the tendency of older workers to seek employment.

Apart from the needs of the defense program, the factor of cost of retirement is likely to force some permanent changes in policy. The cost of pensioning off larger and larger segments of the population may become an intolerable burden on the economy. Recognition of the need for the productive services of persons past 65 may lead to the adoption, under public or private auspices, of some of the proposals that are now being put forward more or less casually. Various of these require public action, and concern such procedures as reduction of pay-roll taxes on the earnings of workers past retirement age, or the use of income from the federal old-age insurance funds to subsidize the earnings of older workers. Another suggestion is to raise the legal retirement age under certain conditions. A proposal requiring not legal steps but negotiation between labor and management is that the piecework method of payment for older workers be used as a way of meeting declining productivity but providing continuing employment. The combination of rising retirement costs and the defense program needs for manpower may lead to removing such proposals from the realm of speculation to that of serious consideration.

Other influences that may act to

bring about continuing employment of older men are beyond the province of the economist or the statistician. They include such things as increased awareness on the part of the community of the need for some opportunity for older men to be occupied in ways that command respect—a development resulting from changing attitudes toward retirement on the part of psychiatrists, welfare workers, industrial relations experts, and others. Greater sympathy and understanding may obtain as a larger and larger part of the population enters the upper age brackets itself or numbers a veteran worker in its own family group.

PROSPECTS FOR OLDER WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

A spectacular increase in the propensity of women to work outside their homes took place in the decade of the 1940's, continuing a development that has been observed during the last fifty or sixty years. The sharpest changes were noted among women past 35 years of age. Furthermore, gains made during the war were maintained, as was not the case for men.

Older women shared with younger women the new opportunities for employment. Those 65 and over were only in rare instances in the labor force (less than one in ten), and, although the proportions have increased, they are still negligible. Big gains, however, were made by women in the 55 to 64 age group. In 1940, on the average, 18 per cent were in the labor force; in 1944, 25 per cent; and in 1950, 27 per cent (see Table 3).

Women's prospects not similar to men's

Curiously enough, some of the factors that have pointed toward a reduction in employment among older men

might produce the opposite results among older women. For example, the diminishing importance of farming in our national life and the expansion of urban areas will tend to mean that more and more women will have paid jobs. Opportunities for employment for women are much greater in urban areas than on farms. Industries that are more likely to provide jobs suitable for older women particularly—in public utilities, retail trade establishments, insurance and real estate offices, hotels and lodgings, and some of the professional and government services—are "city" industries for the most part, or at least tend to cluster in urban areas.

The reduction in the work week in American industry and business which may be expected to continue in the absence of war is often cited as a factor favorable to employment of older people, particularly women, who generally carry responsibilities for housekeeping in addition to their jobs outside the home. The sizable proportions of women 55 and older who report that they prefer part-time work (see Table 2) suggest that if the use of part-time workers should extend into more and more fields of employment, an increase in the labor force participation of older women would be assured.

For women, the pattern of working life that seems to be developing is to find a job after leaving school and to work until marriage or until children become a major responsibility. Beginning at the time that the children reach school age, and at an accelerating rate as they grow up, their mothers tend to return to the labor force. A second high point for employment is between the ages of 35 and 45, after which the relative numbers gainfully occupied start to diminish.

Households where both the head and

his wife are in the labor force have shown a sharp increase in number. One in five households were in this class in 1950, but only one in nine in 1940.⁶ As more and more American families establish living standards based on the earnings of both husband and wife during their forties it will become increasingly desirable, and perhaps acceptable, for the wife to continue working into her fifties and sixties. This is already true in specific areas where employment opportunities for women are abundant. In Washington, D. C., for example, the preliminary sample data from the 1950 Census of Population show that the proportion of women 55-64 in the labor force was 38 per cent as compared with 26 per cent for women in all urban areas, and the rate for women 65 and over, 14 per cent, was almost double that for all urban areas.⁷

These considerations lead to the conclusion that more women past middle age will be desiring employment in the coming decades and that, on the basis of current trends, their oppor-

tunities for employment will become more numerous.

CONCLUSION

The American economy is providing jobs for about 8 million full-time workers 55 years old or over and for some 2 million part-time workers. World War II experience demonstrates that almost a million more men in this age group would be available for employment if jobs were to open up. There is no question that failure to employ these involves a loss of productive power to the nation in a wide range of activities. Many of the "housekeeping" tasks in the economy are being performed by older workers—service jobs in particular—but also many of the jobs requiring highly developed manual skills, as in construction, or advanced educational and technical abilities, as in the professions. There is some reason to think that the exigencies of the present defense program may result in at least a temporary solution for the older worker who finds retirement unpalatable. For the long run, the probable pattern is not clear, but it is likely that without basic changes in current attitudes and policies the older man will find himself facing a long period of retirement.

⁶ Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, "Marital and Family Characteristics of the Labor Force in the United States: March 1950," Series P-50 No. 29.

⁷ Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of Population, Preliminary Reports, PC-5 No. 53 and PC-7 No. 2.

Gertrude Bancroft, Washington, D. C., is Coordinator for Manpower Statistics in the Population and Housing Division of the United States Bureau of the Census. She has been chiefly responsible for the census data on labor force and consumer income, obtained in connection with the Current Population Survey and the 1950 Census of Population and Housing.

Barriers to the Employment of Older Workers

By ALBERT J. ABRAMS

THERE are two main types of barriers that hinder the older job applicant—the indirect and the direct. The indirect type is found in industrial processes and techniques which exclude older job seekers though not instituted primarily to do so. (These include restricted-entry jobs, promotion-from-within systems, pensions, unvalidated medical and psychological tests, time-pressure tasks, and certain union regulations.) The indirect type of barrier is also found in culture bars within and without industry which have an impact on industry, such as glorification of youth, upward gradients, a high-energy society, and success values based on job status and monetary return.

The direct type is found in the following: written rules excluding job seekers over a predetermined chronological age; unwritten rules followed by hiring or screening authorities to bar applicants over a predetermined chronological age; deficiencies of the older worker, whether in training, adjustability, or preparation for job seeking; and lack of public or private counseling and placement service geared to older job seekers.

It should be emphasized that barriers against older job seekers are not peculiar to American industry. There is evidence that they exist in underdeveloped and agrarian economies as well as in industrial societies, and in statist as well as democratic regimes. The extent and intensity of such obstacles may vary depending upon a host of factors, such as the significance of work in the culture, the role assigned to older persons in the family, and provision of work substitutes; but through-

out the world, employers generally are not eager to hire older persons.

MEASURES OF FORMAL AGE BARRIERS

The resistance of employers to the employment of older workers is indicated by three post-World War II surveys. A community-wide study of 38 firms employing 62,828 workers in Rochester, New York indicated that 29.5 per cent of the companies imposed a maximum age limit "above which new employees are not ordinarily hired."¹

A state-wide survey by State Senator Thomas C. Desmond, chairman of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging, disclosed that 39 per cent of 172 companies admitted imposing formal aging barriers.²

A nation-wide joint survey of 277 concerns by the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce in 1949 indicated that 26 per cent of the firms "did not follow a practice" of hiring older workers.³

The NAM two decades earlier had conducted a similar inquiry and found that 28 per cent of the firms had such age barriers.⁴

¹ Industrial Management Council, Community Survey of Employment of the Elderly, Rochester, N. Y., Jan. 1, 1948, 7 pp.

² Albert J. Abrams, "Industry Views its Elderly Workers," in *Birthdays Don't Count* (Albany, N. Y.: New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging, Leg. Doc. 61 of 1948), pp. 152-53.

³ National Association of Manufacturers, Industrial Relations Department Report, *Employment of the Physically Handicapped and Older Workers* (New York, 1949), p. 15.

⁴ National Association of Manufacturers,

A 1930 study of firms in New York State concluded that "in approximately one-quarter of the moderate-sized and large companies including 40 per cent of the jobs in the state, the older person would encounter an insurmountable hiring bar. His chances of being accepted would be practically zero."⁵

Thus over a period of twenty years, from one-quarter to two-fifths of firms queried in various surveys have admitted the imposition of direct formal barriers.

These figures are only suggestive. A more realistic yardstick to measure the prevalence of formal age barriers is the data in job orders filed with public employment service agencies. A study made in 1950 showed that in New York State, of 3,500 job openings 25 per cent had an age limitation; in Columbus, Ohio, of 3,925 openings 81 per cent had age restrictions for women, 75 per cent for men; in Lancaster, Pennsylvania of 511 openings 60 per cent had age restrictions; in Birmingham, Alabama 90 per cent of the openings, and in Dallas, Texas 50 per cent, specified age restrictions.⁶

Another measurement of age bias is the extent to which "help wanted" advertisements contain such restrictions. A recent analysis of 3,474 job opportunities for males advertised in the *New York Times* showed that 38.2 per cent included an age limitation.⁷

Public Old Age Pensions (New York, 1930), p. 24.

⁵ Solomon Barkin, "The Older Worker in Industry," in *Report of the Joint Legislative Committee on Unemployment*, Leg. Doc. 66, 1933 (Albany, N. Y.: J. B. Lyon Co.), pp. 190-204.

⁶ U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, *Older Workers Seek Jobs*, Aug. 1951, 10 pp.

⁷ Walter G. O'Donnell, "The Problem of Age Barriers in Personnel Selection," in *Personnel* (New York: American Management Association, May 1951), pp. 461-71.

PATTERN OF AGE BARRIERS VARIES

It is clear that age barriers are a pervasive force in industry. However, the pattern of the barriers varies widely from industry to industry, from job to job, and from community to community. Advertising and public utility firms are notorious for rigid utilization of inflexible age requirements. New industries such as chemicals, plastics, and aviation customarily impose age restrictions to a greater extent than older industries. The age bars are not as numerous in the service industries or in service jobs in any industry. There is a tendency to ignore age restrictions for jobs requiring a high degree of skill, such as tool and die maker. Large concerns are more likely to impose age restrictions than are medium or small firms.

An indication of the different levels at which age barriers are imposed in various jobs is seen in the fact that restaurants will take highly skilled people like cooks up to 65 years of age, but waitresses, waiters, and counter people meet resistance at age 50 or earlier. Hotel clerks run up against age barriers at 40. Professional nurses over 40 find difficulty obtaining jobs on hospital staffs but can be placed on private duty. In commercial offices, the age limit is frequently 35 for women and 45 for men except in specialized fields such as legal stenography, insurance brokerage, and sometimes book-keeping.

CULTURE BARRIERS

The disregard in our high-energy culture for the biological, social, and economic demands of life in the later years must be viewed as a temporary, transitional phenomenon. More satisfactory adjustments are being sought amid rapidly changing values. There

is developing a planned, conscious effort to re-examine, re-evaluate, and reshape the attitudes and policies of society toward its older people.⁸ This issue of *THE ANNALS* is in itself an overt manifestation of this conscious effort.

These efforts clash with our traditional culture values which impede the hiring of older workers. We are a nation of youth worshipers. Our national heroes are not philosophers or physicists, but twenty-year-old baseball players and teen-age Hollywood stars whose obvious lack of dramatic powers is obscured by more obvious features. Many respectable corporate fortunes are being made today by successfully conditioning the public to a dread of aging. The purveyors of face creams, liver pills, slenderizing mechanisms, and so forth hold before us the grim prospect of a wrinkled, obese, ill old age. Youth, youth, youth! We idealize it. We crave it. We fear its loss.

How natural that industry should fall prey to the theme fostered by itself, and call for workers with "zing," "bounce," "drive," "aggressiveness," and for women "with looks"!

Age respect has certainly withered before intergeneration mobility, industrialization, and urbanization. But another restricting force is the exaltation of upward gradients. Anthropologists inform us that we value not past success or past eminence but continued upward achievements. "Going to the top" is our goal. And once at the top, we must continue to find new heights. Confronted with pressures of this type, the older person is likely to flounder, become disheartened, deem himself a failure, accelerate the likelihood of his

inability to obtain work, and remove himself from the labor market entirely.

The gradual disappearance of the kinship-oriented conjugal family which provided status, emotional security, and often work security for the aged is another block in the path of the older person. In days gone by, "working for relatives" was quite common among older persons. The family took care of the work needs of older people. Today with the family economy gone, and with family businesses replaced by corporate structures, the opportunities for such jobs are restricted.

CULTURAL AIDS

There are numerous cultural forces which are operating to advance work opportunities for older persons. The premium we place on autonomy from infancy to senility forces many older people into the labor market who otherwise might not seek employment. Since opportunities for older persons to be autonomous are less numerous than such persons, our older adults are often held in disrepute in the family, in the community, and in the personnel office. Increasingly older persons want to be "on their own." Sociologists point out that apart from any biological need for activity, paid work becomes the means of mediating the conflicts that rage in families when individuals have feelings toward responsibility for their parents which conflict with pressures to protect the living standards and future of their own children.

One of the most hopeful of the current cultural forces is the tendency to glorify the worth of the individual and to maximize his opportunities. The emergence of this culture value will serve to mold industrial, economic and political policies to the advantage of older men in the labor market.

Other societal pressures operating for the older job seeker are those which

⁸ See Margaret Mead, "Cultural Contexts of Aging," in *No Time to Grow Old* (Albany, N. Y.: New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging, 1951), pp. 48-51.

establish work as status, as prestige, as success, as power. The lack of inter-human associations apart from work also helps to build up pressure for expanding job opportunities for older persons. There are thus at present conflicting cultural forces in our society which are stimuli and inhibitors of employment opportunities of older persons.

LACK OF JOBS

As obvious as Cyrano's nose, the main barrier to the employment of older workers is simply a lack of available jobs. A United States Employment Service survey disclosed that as "unemployment increases, employer specifications with respect to age are tightened and the per cent of older workers among the jobless increases . . . and if not reemployed at their regular work, [the older workers] are usually downgraded in skill and pay."⁹

Similar conclusions have been reached by studies in various foreign countries.¹⁰ World-wide, the plight of the older worker varies in intensity with the extent of employment or the condition of the labor market.¹¹ If the demand for labor can be broadened particularly in areas of high technological change, declining industries, contracting employment, or underdevelopment, older workers will find it easier to obtain work.

However, the condition of full employment will not ipso facto eliminate all obstacles to the hiring of older

⁹ Robert C. Goodwin, "The Older Worker in the Labor Market," in *Young at any Age* (Albany: New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging, Leg. Doc. 12, of 1950), p. 79.

¹⁰ See International Labour Office, *Discrimination Against Elderly Workers*, Geneva, 1938 (mimeo.).

¹¹ Albert J. Abrams, "Discrimination in Employment of Older Workers in Various Countries of the World," abstracted in *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 6 (July 1951), supp. to No. 3, p. 51.

workers. Prejudice against them may not diminish in a tight labor market, but its overt manifestations and its practical impact are lessened. The prejudice lies simmering, awaiting an opportunity to steam forth in repressive age restrictions.

Even in times of labor shortage, defense plants and governmental agencies will advertise for workers "under 35" or "under 45" depending on the type of position. One recent study, however, indicated that among those 65 and over, only 17 per cent had been seeking a job for twenty weeks or more in a tight labor area, compared with almost 29 per cent in an area of very substantial labor surplus.¹²

BARRIERS ERECTED BY OLDER JOB SEEKERS

Out of the new research on the older job seeker has come awareness that he is one of his own main obstacles.¹³ He often comes to the task of seeking a job with little understanding of the nature of the project. He lacks skill in merchandising himself—does not know how to carry on an aggressive sales campaign in his own behalf. He may be a poor letter writer. He may be so affected by what can only be described as "unemployment shock" that he reacts in interviews either with overtimidity or with overaggressiveness. He often lacks familiarity with the job leads in his field, such as trade directories and publications.

Very frequently, the older worker is unfamiliar with the principle of conversion. A watchmaker thinks only in terms of watchmaking instead of any

¹² U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, *Older Workers at the Public Employment Office*, Aug. 9, 1950.

¹³ New York State Employment Service and Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance, *Employment Problems of Older Workers in New York City*, Aug. 1950, 123 pp.

related precision work. A sheet metal worker thinks in terms of sheet metal work alone rather than allied metal work jobs. This failure to dissect his own talents properly hits especially hard at those men who have worked for years at one single operation which has become obsolete.

The high obsolescence of machinery and skills in modern industry and the increased mobility of industry itself are severe, real barriers to the employment aspirations of older persons. They often serve to leave older workers, with long experience on a single job or single machine, high and dry. The pace of modern production lines often is not attuned to reaction timing of aging nervous systems.

Experienced counselors are familiar with the reactions of older men with stable work histories who are suddenly cast out of a job; the counselor often finds that "time purges unrealistic demands," but it is a harsh cure.

The worker whose production is declining imposes his own barriers when he refuses to recognize his own failing capacities and adjust to them, when he refuses to accept work of lower prestige or status, lower skill, or lower pay than he has been accustomed to in the past. Many men resist wearing hearing aids, glasses, or other appliances which would enable them to remain on the job or expedite their adjustment to a new job. They often fail to realize that they would be much more likely to obtain employment if they searched for work in plants that are out of town or up-town instead of downtown, or if they would consider split-shift jobs.

When the older worker is "set in his ways," when he obviously has a know-it-all attitude that alienates younger supervisors or other associates, when he suffers from emotional disturbances which may be related to climacteric changes, family difficulties, or other

factors, he is obviously his own barrier.

Sometimes women resist brushing up on old skills when they re-enter the labor field after years of layoff to raise families, and find difficulty obtaining work such as bookkeeping, stenography, typing, or photography.

Many of these obstacles fortunately can be prevented or overcome. The older workers can themselves block development of many of these self-made barriers or can be aided in skirting them through the aid of skilled employment counselors.

INDUSTRY OBSTACLES

Many of our foremost production executives argue that hiring older job seekers means increasing production costs. Mr. Charles E. Wilson, shortly before leaving General Electric Company to become Director of Defense Mobilization, informed the Desmond Committee that "keeping older people with diminished capacity in the labor force tends to raise costs appreciably and reduce efficiency." The coupling of "older people" with "diminished capacity" is significant, as one of the dominant stereotypes in industrial thinking is the linking of older workers with decreased production. However, there are no data which indicate that older men generally produce less than younger men, or that younger men can keep pace with older men on certain types of jobs, or that older men cannot keep up with younger men on other types of jobs if permitted to sit rather than stand, or if permitted occasional rest periods.

On the contrary, a Desmond Committee survey showed that nearly three-fourths of the firms reporting indicated that older workers produce as much as younger workers. A NAM survey indicated that one-third of the reporting concerns felt that the quantity of work of the older person was greater, and a

majority of them believed that the quality of work was superior.

Nonetheless, there is widespread belief in management circles that since our American economy is based on low-cost mass production, this conflicts with the hiring of older job seekers. Closely associated with this concept is the rationalization that younger men are needed for competitive strength. "We need young, hard-hitting, aggressive employees," the employer says, "if we are to compete successfully." The values of mature judgment, experience, and know-how are rarely equated with "drive," "pep," "dynamic personality."

Pension and compensation rates.

Pensions may indeed prove costly, when older men are hired. For example, a single premium for a newly hired 40-year-old who is to be retired at 65 with a \$100-a-month annuity may cost a firm \$6,823; for a 55-year-old, \$10,623; for a 60-year-old, \$13,860.¹⁴ While these figures are approximations, and will vary depending on the type of pension arrangement set up, they indicate that the penalty for hiring an older worker under current pension systems may be felt keenly; this is not likely to be true, however, of pension systems operated on a cents-an-hour basis which disregards the age of individual employees.

Mr. William White, president of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, recently informed the Desmond Committee that since pension plans usually require long periods of service to qualify for annuities, concerns are hesitant to hire those who will not benefit from the pension plans because of an insufficient number of years

remaining before compulsory retirement. Firms are reluctant to hire short-term help who will be retired on a pittance. Mr. Eugene Holman, president of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), emphasizes that pension plans which require workers to serve a long number of years with a particular concern "introduce inflexibility into the labor market and discourage the hiring of older employees."

There is no conclusive evidence that workmen's compensation rates generally go up as older men are hired. Senator Desmond assails this contention as "a myth of management," conjured up from isolated cases of large compensation awards granted in instances of injuries to older men. He reports:

Investigations show that while accidents tend to be more severe among elderly and the duration of disability longer, older workers tend to have fewer accidents, and are less likely, due to their know-how, to be burned, crushed, cut, punctured, or lacerated on the job. Too, the rate-making process does not take into account age. Adoption of so-called Second Injury Laws tends to reduce the risk of employers in hiring older persons with disabilities.

Other personnel policy factors

Another frequently expressed reason for barring older job seekers is the need to maintain a balanced labor force. Since many American companies do keep in their employ workers of many years' seniority, they sometimes fear permitting entry of newcomers in the upper age brackets, as tending to an overload of aged.

"But if we hire older men we will be cutting down job opportunities for youth. Youngsters have to be given a chance too." This lament is often heard. It is based on the questionable assumption of a restricted job pool.

¹⁴ Assumes a 2½ per cent interest rate, based on 1937 standard annuity mortality rates, set back one year and loaded 8 per cent of gross.

Furthermore, there are many jobs youngsters do not want or cannot fill, such as dead-end jobs, monotonous jobs, technical supervising jobs. Nonetheless, the youth-versus-age conflict is a very real restrictor of job opportunities for older workers.

Many companies cite their policy of "promoting from within" as seriously restricting their ability to hire older workers. Entry jobs are restricted to low-pay, low-skill posts, such as office boy, sweeper, and junior clerk, and it is expected that persons filling those jobs will be promoted through the ranks in accordance with an industrial career system. For the company this is expected to build a "team spirit" and "better morale," which in turn are expected to lower turnover and step up production. The inflexibility of these promotion systems which bar entry of high-level talent of mature years and conflict with the realities of an aging labor force calls for re-examination. Even when a company does not have a rigid promotion-from-within policy, there is often a feeling that the "family spirit" within the plant cannot be developed in workers hired late in life.

Among the main impedimenta to the hiring of older workers are a host of unverified premises. For example, a recent study in the needle-trades industry disclosed these attitudes: "Old people think they know everything and insist on doing things their own way"; "they're sick too often"; "they can't get along with younger workers"; "old people can't turn out enough work"; "they're going to retire soon on pensions, and we need workers who will stay on the job"; "they can't get around fast enough"; "they can't stand on their feet too long"; "you can't ask old folks to do heavy work."

The validity of many of these attitudes is questionable; all cry out for scientific analysis and verification. But

that they compose a very formidable barricade to the older job seeker is unquestioned.

EMPLOYMENT TECHNIQUES

Recent inquiries have shown that older job seekers are commonly given little consideration in public employment agencies. Experiments in the United States and Canada have indicated that when special attention is given in the form of counseling and extra placement efforts, twice as many older persons obtain employment as under usual procedures. Until the public employment service is financially enabled to provide the necessary personnel to give special service to the 40-plus group, and until federal funds are allocated to the state employment offices on a work-load basis, the older worker will continue to meet his first barrier to a job when he steps into a public employment office.

At the plant, a magnificent array of pseudo-scientific medical and psychological tests authorized by personnel directors who confuse the apparatus of science with science itself adds to the obstacles that lie in wait for the older man or woman who seeks a job.

The medical job-screening examinations, for example, are rarely related to the job that is available. Too, they aim to ferret out disease rather than to assess health status or ability to work in relationship to a specific job. Industrial physicians are primarily doctors, and, as such, are disease hunters, rather than physiological experts capable of determining with precision stamina and health status. Cardiac specialists, for example, constantly complain of medical generalists in industry who simply are unaware of the work tolerances of a job applicant with a heart impairment. The physician attached to a small plant in particular is likely to be wholly unfamiliar with job demands.

Psychological tests of personality or aptitudes generally have been validated on younger persons—college students for the most part. No one knows whether they are at all valid for older people; in fact there are a number of reasons to doubt their applicability to older persons. They are often unmeaningful to older persons who are not test oriented, as are young people who have been tested and retested from elementary grades through colleges. The tests are often unrelated to the specific job opening. They may impose time-pressure limitations that are not imposed by the job itself. The president of one concern which utilizes psychological tests to screen job applicants informs me that he has come to appreciate the deficiencies of the test when dealing with older persons, and so automatically upgrades scores of the 40-plus applicants! "Evaluation of the work ability of older persons is less simple, is less adapted to routine procedure, and requires more time and consideration," one investigator points out.¹⁵

When hiring is done at the gate, individual prejudices against older men block their obtaining an equal chance at jobs. When the hiring or screening is done in the personnel office by crew-cut, bow-tie juveniles fresh out of college, the older worker is often at a serious disadvantage. Dr. Irving Lorge and J. Tuckerman of Columbia University Teachers College have conducted research which indicates that even sophisticated individuals such as graduate students of psychology have absorbed prejudices against older job applicants.

One of the major obstacles to the em-

ployment of the older worker is the lack of job analysis data which would give management an accurate picture of the demands of each job. These, used in conjunction with physical demands data, could be utilized to place older workers in jobs for which they are suited.

Is it in the very nature of our industrial society that our older workers must be discarded and thwarted in their efforts to obtain work? There is no indication that there is anything inherent in a complex, mass production economy to prevent the hiring of older workers. Some large companies, such as Eastman Kodak and Endicott Johnson, do hire older workers successfully. The main obstacle is lack of data, lack of research, lack of knowledge. Stemming from these are obstacles of attitudes and prejudices. Machines can be adapted to gray-haired men, and gray-haired men can be adapted to machines. But when the foe is not machines but ignorance and prejudice, the task is much more difficult.

BARRIERS BY UNIONS

The barriers imposed by unions to the hiring of older workers are largely of an indirect nature and have not been given thorough, critical analysis.¹⁶ The older worker is one of labor's constituents, and the unions are, it may be assumed, just as likely on the whole to seek to promote his interests as is a California Congressman the interests of a Long Beach taxpayer. Union pressures for old-age insurance, corporate pensions, medical benefits, seniority, and full employment have operated to protect the older person. However, the interest of unions in the older worker varies considerably depending

¹⁵ Arthur J. Noetzel, Jr., *Personnel Administration and the Older Worker* (Cleveland: Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Occupational Planning Committee, Jan. 12, 1951, mimeo.), p. 6.

¹⁶ A preliminary analysis is contained in Albert J. Abrams, "Unions and the Older Worker," in *No Time to Grow Old*, *op. cit.* note 8 *supra*, pp. 119-44.

on a host of factors such as age of union members, age of union leadership, nature of the industry organized, and stage of unionization achieved.

One of the obstacles to the hiring of older workers is the refusal of many unions to permit workers of declining abilities to be downgraded in pay or position. Sixty per cent of the international unions reporting to Senator Desmond in one survey said they permitted older workers to take lower-rated jobs at lower wage rates, 30 per cent that they refused to allow such downgrading, and 10 per cent that they left the matter up to the locals. All of the internationals reporting, with the lone exception of the International Typographical Union, refused to permit older workers to remain at their same jobs at lower wage rates if unable to do a full day's work. Management reported that even when union rules permitted downgrading, in the actual give and take of collective bargaining, the labor leaders strenuously opposed such moves.

Unions with closed shops or hiring-hall arrangements reported they were able to combat management barriers against hiring older workers quite effectively by controlling the employment referrals. However, where unions utilize work permits and older men seek to switch from one skill to another or from one industry to another, the man of mature years is likely to run into severe obstacles.

Some unions have been loath to open up entry jobs for older persons which would enable them to get a foothold in plants. Older workers coming to a plant for work are sometimes confronted with the regulation that they must start as apprentices to obtain employment, but they are too old to start as apprentices!

Thirty per cent of internationals reporting to Senator Desmond stated that they placed some bar in the way of

part-time work for retired union members. The exploitation of homeworkers in the early decades of the twentieth century and fear of the tearing down of wage structures have led to a refusal to reopen the question to permit homebound elderly people to earn a living and to enable many on old-age assistance roles to gain an income.

One of the barriers imposed by unions in the past has been an understandable subordination of interest in the older job seeker to the larger issues of higher wages, union security, and better working conditions. Even today, some union leaders are prone to dismiss the problem of the aged job seeker as an insignificant but inseparable aspect of the issue of full employment. However, many unions are beginning to recognize that their constituency is aging, and that the problems of older job seekers, while akin to those of all job seekers, are often unique, and demand careful consideration and prompt action.

PROGRESS BEING MADE

The barriers that block the employment of older persons are formidable but not insuperable. They are being slowly penetrated.

The National Association of Manufacturers, the National Industrial Conference Board, the American Management Association, and the United States Chamber of Commerce have conducted surveys or educational programs. Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, as well as some independent internationals, have assigned personnel to explore this area and to help promote the hiring of older workers. Foundations are beginning to allocate funds for basic and applied research. At many universities, including Columbia, Cornell, and the universities of California, Minnesota, Wisconsin,

and Chicago, research in this area has started.

Governmental agencies are undertaking research, education, and service functions. The Federal Security Agency's Committee on Aging and Geriatrics, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Women's Bureau are stimulating or engaging in research and education. The United States Bureau of Employment Security has undertaken fundamental research and has issued a manual on counseling older job seekers. Research on capabilities of older workers has been underway for some time at the Gerontological Division of the National Institutes of Health. Significant studies of skill and age are being made from grants made to Cambridge University by the Nuffield Foundation.

Private groups such as the National Committee on Aging have set up special task forces to promote the interests of older workers. The National Planning Association, the Twentieth Century Fund, and other such groups are making contributions to understanding the gray-haired man who comes to the factory gate in search of a job. Newspapers, magazines, radio, and television are beginning to do an effective interpretative job of employer and employee problems in this field.

On the state level, the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging has pioneered in development of programs in this field. Massachusetts by virtue of a

1950 law has become a testing ground for the efficacy of the approach of the Fair Employment Practice Committee to banning discrimination against older job seekers. Many other states are turning their attention to this field.

In Schenectady, Syracuse, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Portland (Oregon), Chicago, and Los Angeles, local community groups are seeking to improve the opportunities of older job seekers to obtain equal consideration in employment. Forty-plus clubs are active in obtaining work for older executives.

The goal of all these efforts is to assure an opportunity to obtain work for all older men who want work and can be fitted for work. The mental blocks of attitudes and myths can be smashed. Research and education will overcome the barriers of myth and ignorance that strengthen stereotypes about older workers and block sound personnel procedures. The barriers that stem from lack of technical tools, such as suitable testing apparatus and training facilities, will be overcome as money, time, and personnel become allocated to the task. New experiences in utilizing an aging work force will speed up acceptability of older persons by industry. And since the product—older men and women—is constantly being improved by better education, better medicine, and better living conditions, there is every reason to believe that in the not too distant future when a 40-plus or 60-plus job seeker applies for work his birthdays will not be counted against him.

Albert J. Abrams, Newburgh, New York, is director of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging, acting chairman of the employment section, National Committee on Aging, and research associate to State Senator Thomas C. Desmond. He has been chairman of the employment section, President's National Conference on Aging, director of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Nutrition, director of the New York State Trichinosis Commission, staff director of the New York Senate Committee on Affairs of Cities, and assistant to the Mayor of West New York, New Jersey. He is editor of No Time to Grow Old (1951), Young at Any Age (1950), Never Too Old (1949), and Birthdays Don't Count (1948). He has written articles on government for lay and professional journals.

Should There Be a Fixed Retirement Age?

SOME MANAGEMENTS SAY YES

By STANLEY C. HOPE

FOR a half-century Esso Standard Oil Company and its predecessor and affiliated companies have been concerned with the importance of making it possible for career employees to retire with continuing incomes. More than thirty years ago a formal annuity plan was adopted. Two important principles—first, that all employees from top to bottom could acquire annuities under the same terms, and, second, that all employees should be retired not later than a fixed age—were parts of this plan. In the case of male employees retirement was made mandatory at 65; in the case of women, at an earlier age. The original annuity plan was amended from time to time and has been superseded by new plans as conditions changed, but in none of these plans have we departed from these two principles. Our annuity plans have been the subject of constant study, and the advantages of a definite retirement age have, in our opinion, outweighed objections raised to them.

Among the advantages of mandatory retirement at a predetermined age are these:

1. *All employees are treated alike*

From the employee's standpoint, he cannot feel that he is discriminated against or another employee is favored. When retirement may be postponed beyond a fixed age, seldom will the employee, his working associates, his superior, and the retiring authority all agree as to the correctness or justice of a decision. One or more will feel that the employee is being favored or discriminated against, thus weakening

employee morale in general and raising a question in the minds of other employees as to the value, acceptability, and fairness of the retirement program.

From the stockholder standpoint, retention of officers or employees in positions of major responsibilities to the detriment of efficient management will not depend upon the influence which a given employee may be able to exert to postpone his retirement.

2. *Effective plans for retirement can be made*

From management's standpoint, replacement tables can be developed with reasonable certainty so that no efficiency in operations is lost because of retirement of the employee. Necessary preparation and training can be planned well in advance.

From the employee's standpoint, plans can be made for satisfying activities to commence upon the given date. Programs have been inaugurated by the company to counsel prospective annuitants and help them to prepare for their retirement. Should the employee wish to engage in a professional or business activity he can plan to do so with the knowledge that such activities will in no way affect his annuity from company plans. In fact, the reasonable certainty of the date of retirement permits the individual employee to plan his retirement, including the financial aspects of it, many years in advance.

3. *It provides incentives for capable younger employees*

One of the most important reasons for a retirement system warranting,

from the stockholder viewpoint, company participation in financing, is the incentive provided to capable younger employees. Under a mandatory retirement system, they know they have a greater chance for promotion through continued creation of vacancies by retirement. The lack of such a system may impair or even destroy this incentive, with commensurate effect upon morale. This might result in inefficiency and the loss of younger capable employees. Renewed vigor is put into the business when younger capable employees with up-to-date viewpoints are placed in positions of responsibility. Superannuation among executive or supervisory forces can seriously affect efficiency of a company's operations and may seriously impair its success. Superannuation among employees impairs the morale of the employee group.

4. *It is desirable from the employee's personal standpoint*

The employee retires without apologies, excuses, or explanations. Any implication of physical or mental deterioration or incapacity is avoided.

5. *It provides the most practical solution*

Because of the human element, the exercise of discretion cannot always be accurate. Under the best of circumstances, where retirement is discretionary, mistakes will be made in borderline cases. Some employees may in fact meet the desired standard of mental and physical capacity but will be retired earlier than others, while some of mental and physical capacity actually below the desired standard will have their retirements postponed.

While various criticisms have been leveled against the principle of mandatory retirement, those who have studied the problem carefully have found no satisfactory answer to the question as

to who is qualified to render a decision in individual cases based on human judgment.

6. *It is desirable from the general economic and social standpoint*

While the requirements of an aging population may dictate a review of the age at which mandatory retirement is to take place, it does not affect the basic soundness of mandatory retirement. Other advantages, to the economy and to society in general, which are most likely to develop under mandatory retirement, cannot be ignored. There are many activities and positions in the business, economic, and political communities which need doing and filling, but which now receive only part-time or even no attention. Mature, experienced people who have not exhausted their mental and physical capacities in their career employment and who are not required, because of monetary considerations, to continue in their usual lifetime activity, can find satisfying work in these activities, making valuable contributions to the social, economic, and political development of the communities in which they live or to which they may retire. If retirement is postponed until there is an actual deterioration of mental or physical capacity, no such contribution can be made.

When all is said and done, even with its limitations, the mandatory retirement rule provides the most practical solution to the problem. It is a reasonable tool necessary to give adequate assurance of the continuing efficiency of the working organization. While other plans administered on a discretionary basis may continue in service some still efficient workers, they are more likely to retain the inefficient in employment, thus ultimately developing a full-salary "pension roll" more costly to the company in dollars and more detrimental to

the company's interest because of loss of effective operations. Those who are more able and efficient will have the initiative and foresight to plan their affairs looking toward their normal retirement dates, and thus will leave the company's service no matter what retirement rule is followed.

Stanley C. Hope, New York City, is president of Esso Standard Oil Company.

He was formerly president of Gilbert & Barker Manufacturing Company and of Stanco, Inc., both affiliates of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), and he has been a member of the Standard Oil Company's Coordination Committee. During the war he was cited for distinguished service by the United States Army Ordnance Department for co-ordinating the work of twenty-one firms manufacturing sighting and firing devices.

SOME MANAGEMENTS PREFER FLEXIBILITY

By CRAIG P. COCHRANE

NOT many years ago, planned retirement from active work was a purely academic consideration. The individual's struggle to make a living normally continued until death or disability wrote an end to his working life. Not until industrialization multiplied individual productivity did society face the dual problem: should a man retire before the disabilities of old age force him to, and, if so, at what age should he retire?

We are, of course, fortunate in having this problem of retirement. Whatever disagreement there may be over the answers, the very fact that retirement has become a new opportunity for men is further evidence of our economic progress, of our ability to produce more while still increasing our leisure time. Retirement is a problem which people in many other lands would assuredly welcome.

One of the questions concerning retirement which sometimes arises is that of a "fixed retirement age"—that is, a definite and specified age at which the individual is compelled to retire irrespective of the circumstances. I have been asked to present in this article some arguments, as I see them, against a fixed retirement age. I have been glad to do this because I believe that,

from the standpoint of both the individual and the company he works for, there are a number of valid arguments against it. It should be understood, however, that these arguments are not intended to apply to a "normal retirement age." Here, an entirely different concept is involved and I shall want to touch briefly on this a little later. Furthermore, my comments are based on the assumption that a reasonable retirement income is available. I am not attempting to deal with the question of the individual's economic situation.

NEED FOR FLEXIBLE RETIREMENT POLICIES

Experience seems to show a need for flexibility in all formal industrial relations policies and procedures. Whether we are dealing with wage policies, insurance plans, a communications program, provisions for assisting the individual's development, or other phases of the industrial relations program, it is important to avoid procedural strait jackets. Unless we do, occasions will arise when the administration of the program may harm rather than benefit those affected. A retirement plan with a compulsory retirement age lacks this flexibility.

We can readily think of situations

wherein a fixed retirement age would work to the disadvantage of individuals, groups, or even society as a whole. For example, changes in general economic conditions and in the country's manpower situation may call for great flexibility in retirement policies. When defense or wartime production goals have demanded every last reserve of available manpower, it has been difficult to justify the forced retirement of an able person at an arbitrarily established retirement age. On the other hand, in periods of reduced business activity, the forced retirement of a man—say at age 65—may be socially and economically sound. Certainly, if a choice must be made for layoff between a man without family responsibilities who can retire on an assured income of social security and company pension payments as against a younger man with growing family and no assurance of continuing income, I believe the choice is an obvious one.

Flexibility also works to the advantage of the individual, because a better adjustment to retirement may result if some leeway can be permitted. I think, however, that this consideration grows less important as time goes on. Retirement is becoming a normal and accepted thing, and an increasing percentage of employed people are preparing for, and even looking expectantly to, the normal time for retirement. This, certainly, is far better than an attitude of being forced into retirement.

From industry's point of view, it seems to me, flexible retirement policies are desirable because all decisions with respect to retirement bear on industry's responsibilities to many different individuals and groups. The wishes and best interests of the older worker are not alone involved. The opportunities and aspirations of the younger people in industry must also be considered. Furthermore, retirement policies should be

socially valid because industry must always take account of the general public interest. And, finally, a company must keep in mind its own position in a competitive economy and its continuing ability to provide steady employment at fair rates of pay.

When we have in mind these many—and often conflicting—interests, I think we must conclude that retirement policies should be flexible enough to provide an acceptable degree of fairness to each of the individuals or groups affected. I do not believe a policy calling for compulsory retirement at a specified age will permit this in many situations. In the last analysis, the establishing of a fixed retirement age implies that everyone reaching a given age automatically becomes incapable of further active employment. We know that this is not true. The physical and mental abilities and the general health of people vary greatly at any given age. Equally important, the requirements of different jobs make different demands on the individual. Some jobs require little more than the maintenance of good physical condition. Others have much broader requirements. Executive positions, for example, necessitate an alert mind, initiative, and a willingness to explore new fields. When we take account of both these variables—the differences in people and the differences in job requirements—we can appreciate the difficulty of trying to establish general and inflexible retirement procedures which will fit all cases.

NORMAL VERSUS FIXED RETIREMENT AGE

Perhaps some of the situations I have referred to above will point up the difficulties in the operation of a fixed retirement age. At the same time, I believe we must recognize the need for a stated age which will serve as a "normal retirement age." Unless we have

a specified normal retirement age, neither the individual nor the company can work in a logical way for the successful retirement of the older worker. Retirement takes preparation and planning, and the individual's retirement program needs a specific goal—a specific time when he will expect to alter his way of life according to plan. A specified retirement age offers both the incentive and the basis for such planning and preparation.

The company also must work on the assumption that its people will retire around a certain age even though they may not always do so. Otherwise, it would be virtually impossible to plan effectively for future promotions and personnel changes. Retirement from supervisory and other management positions according to plan is especially important because the general health of a company depends to a large extent on the enthusiasm, resourcefulness, and energy of the men in administrative positions. Progression up the management line, made possible by a regular program of executive retirements, also contributes much to the morale and adds to the incentives of the entire management line.

The need for a normal retirement age is recognized in our social security laws and in company pension plans. Without it, formal retirement programs, either of a statutory or voluntary kind, could not be administered in a practical way.

I believe the value of a stated or normal retirement age is now widely recognized. But, there is not complete agreement on this. There are those who hold that continued employment at his regular occupation in a person's later years is the goal to be worked for. I wonder if there is not a contradiction in this point of view which deserves our attention. Within the past forty years, working hours have been reduced from

60 to 65 hours a week to the now widely accepted 40-hour week. This striking reduction in working hours has given Americans a freedom and leisure unequaled in history. It has given us an opportunity to enrich our lives—though an opportunity, to be sure, which is not always used to full advantage. While we are proud of our progress in reducing the work *week*, it does seem to me that we sometimes overlook the benefits we have also gained by reducing the work years. Yet the potential benefits to the individual and to society may be even greater in the latter case.

The conflicting points of view we find here may arise from different conceptions of what retirement means and what it is or should be.

MEANING OF RETIREMENT

If retirement were to be accepted as a final period of uselessness and dependency on others, then it would seem that the older person should be continued as long as possible at his regular job or some special job set up for him by his employer. But this conception of retirement is, I think, a faulty one. If retirement in fact proves to be a barren and unproductive interlude between regular employment and death, it is only because society and the individual have failed to utilize the rich possibilities of planned retirement. As I see it, retirement is a time for taking up new and useful activities adapted to the older person's capabilities—activities that do not demand his participation beyond voluntary limits. True, adequate preparation must be made for this kind of retirement. The individual must develop his interests and resources over the years against the day when he is free to leave regular employment.

When all is said and done, where will the older person find self-realization and carry on with a full measure of self-

respect in these later years? Will it be in carrying on and meeting as best he can the demands of regular employment? Or is it not more likely to be found where a person is free to apply his efforts and talents wherever he wishes—either to normal activities at a reduced pace or to entirely new and appealing pursuits which may never before have been within his reach?

By continuing our present efforts to provide financial security for the later years and, in addition, by seeking out new and worthier goals for the older person, we should be able to make better use of the precious time which in-

dustrial efficiency has given us. If this comes about, I believe retirement will be regarded with anticipation. The problems of retirement, including the question of a fixed retirement age, will have largely disappeared.

Craig P. Cochrane, Rochester, New York, is director of industrial relations at Eastman Kodak Company. He has served as chairman of the Industrial Relations Committee of the Rochester Industrial Management Council, as a member of the executive committee of the Rochester War Council, and as a member of the boards of the Rochester Family Society and the Rochester Hospital Service Corporation.

ORGANIZED LABOR SAYS NO

By SOLOMON BARKIN

THE practice of establishing compulsory fixed retirement ages flows from pension programs in private industry and the drive to avoid employing older, less effective persons. Pension programs were originally designed particularly for executive personnel to encourage their retirement. Their orderly exit would make way for new talent, points of view, and experience. New persons could be more profitable and valuable. The more useful older persons could be re-employed as consultants or on other part-time and occasional services with the company.

The above practice has been carried over, with undesirable results, to the general mass of employees. The transition was easy, as the first pension programs required long service and predominated in such industries as railroads, utilities, and other service industries. The high continuous service requirements weeded out a large proportion of potential beneficiaries. Unions were not there to force a careful consideration of the merits of this practice.

FIXED RETIREMENT POLICIES INAPPROPRIATE FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

The underlying attitudes which produced the policy of compulsory fixed retirement ages are wholly inappropriate for industrial workers. First, the worker is not anxious to retire. He has adapted himself to industrial employment. The maintenance of self-support and personal independence rate high in his scale of values. He prefers not to be dependent. His life pattern has always included the regular performance of work. It has provided him with a means for productive participation in the community. Most of his vital associations have been developed around his employment.

Unions have strengthened this experience. Many individuals have devoted time to union activities which offered them personal satisfactions and opportunities which no other interest had previously provided them. To continue to fulfill these interests, the worker must retain his job. His most crea-

tive experience has been his work and he prefers not to interrupt it. Forced retirement is a traumatic rupture in his life pattern. Counseling and preparation for retirement will not aid in the adjustment of most of those who now attain old age. Quick deterioration of personal and physical well-being is not uncommon among retired or unemployed workers.

Second, most workers cannot afford to retire. At best, the payments received in pensions or retirement benefits are a mere pittance. Those who received \$100 to \$125 per month could not easily subsist with these funds. The inadequacies have been disclosed by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, which reports that the net cost of services in October 1950 to maintain an aged couple at a modest living level was \$1,700 to \$1,800 a year. The result is that great numbers of aged persons seek employment and prefer it to retirement. The huge numbers who return to employment during periods of full employment is abundant illustration of this fact. The discrepancy between benefits and needs becomes greater in a period of rising prices, and the desire to remain in employment is then strengthened. The benefits now generally received are only sufficient to induce the physically exhausted and those unable to work to choose the lesser of the evils and live less adequately and less strenuously.

JOB ADAPTATION FOR OLDER WORKERS

Third, there are numerous jobs in industry for older persons, and many others can be made fully available. There is abundant evidence in support of this conclusion in the experience during periods of high employment. The proportion of older persons in the labor market and the ratio of employment then rise markedly. The standards of employability are changed to allow for

the hiring of older persons. Placement is then more careful so that younger persons are shifted to jobs for which they are fitted, and jobs are reserved for older persons for which they are adapted. The jobs in industry are diverse and there are many at which older persons can be as productive as any other group of employees.

Moreover, jobs must be redesigned to allow for the increased employment of older persons. Job patterns are flexible and can generally be arranged to meet the characteristics of the persons in the labor market. As we learn about the productive capacities of the older age groups, more jobs must be designed to allow for their employment.¹ The increased proportion of older persons in our population and the diversion of millions of young persons to military pursuits demand that this task be undertaken immediately.

Much can be done to increase the workers' capacity for longer and more effective employment. Physical care and rehabilitation are necessary. In some instances psychological treatment and guidance are called for. Vocational counseling and retraining can be helpful. In this connection it must be underscored that the techniques for training older persons are essentially different from those for younger workers.

Fourth, the social and economic costs of retirement are so huge that we must consider means of extending employment opportunities. Millions of men and varying proportions of our national products are being devoted to the production of military goods and the increased security of the democratic world. By increasing our work force,

¹ Solomon Barkin, *The Older Worker in Industry* (New York: J. B. Lyon Co., 1933), pp. 131, 318-25, and 409-23; and A. T. Welford, *Skill and Age—An Experimental Approach* (published for the Trustees of the Nuffield Foundation, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 145.

the burden of carrying these tasks will be eased for each one of us. The larger number of workers increases output and relieves the economy of the cost of maintaining unproductive persons. We are seeking to recruit women, the handicapped, and other persons who are not in the labor market. ~~It~~ It is essential that we enlist all older persons who can be brought in. Jobs must be adapted to them.

UNION POLICY ON COMPULSORY RETIREMENT

The general trade-union policy has been to resist compulsory fixed retirement ages. In a number of instances unions have challenged these policies and prevented their application by strikes. Trade unions have been insistent upon the worker's right to a job while he is qualified and able to do the job. The pension program should not be designed to force retirement, but to facilitate the retirement of those desirous of it, who have found employment burdensome. Unions have been guided by the principle that, insofar as possible, jobs should be adjusted and workers transferred to other employments if they are not able to maintain themselves productively on their own jobs. Moreover, it is common in many industries for the workers to carry along older persons whose productivity has been faltering. Such aid is an expression of the common concern for the security of all persons on the job.²

Managements which have tried to maintain or introduce compulsory retirement policies have been faced with frequent union efforts to break down the practice. The legality of such action has been challenged where the con-

tract did not specifically provide it and the action conflicted with seniority rules. Unions have contested such retirements by considering them as discharges and have sought reversal of such decisions in arbitration. Where companies have been insistent, unions have arranged for flexible retirement age provisions wherein employees may voluntarily retire at one age, usually 65 years or less. The company retains the right to petition for compulsory retirement at a slightly higher age. Compulsory retirement is set above this level with the right of the employee to petition for an exemption. Trade unions have been opposed to compulsory fixed retirement age policies no matter how high they are placed, where there are no opportunities for exemptions to be granted at the employee's request.

On the other hand, there have been instances where unions have recognized the propriety of more abundant retirements among the aged in plants. Such attitudes have been particularly common in industries or employments which have been contracting either because of their decline or because of far-reaching technological changes. In such instances it has been observed that the retirement of the older persons would allow for more adequate employment of the middle-aged persons in the market. But unions have not fostered compulsory retirement even when they have recognized that such withdrawals may be desirable for the group as a whole. They have also felt keenly about the right of the individual to determine his needs for continued employment up to the point of not handicapping the economic well-being of the enterprise.

Individual business concerns have proposed that personal retirements should be reviewed by joint committees of unions and employers. Such committees can deal effectively with ob-

² Solomon Barkin, "Union Policies and the Older Workers," in *The Aged and Society* (Industrial Relations Research Association, 1950), pp. 168-82.

vious cases of incapacity. The usual practice is to provide the committee with production and medical reports. But doctors tend to use absolute standards of capacity. While they may be prepared to recognize real abnormalities, they are unable to measure workers' capacity to perform various occupational tasks. Not only do they lack measures, but they have no terminology for itemizing these capacities or appraising the range of capacity possessed by a worker. At best, they will give loose personal judgments. Nor are records of production adequate, since employees may be better suited to other jobs, and the task is that of finding those for which they are better adapted. There are no scientific criteria for determining the propriety of retiring workers, except in extreme cases. The union must take the position that the personal preference of the worker should be binding. Management will usually seek to effect the retirement of those it believes are less productive, unless its policy dictates the more generous treatment.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF INDUSTRY

Those who argue for compulsory fixed retirement ages on the basis of

simplicity of administration or necessity of granting a priority to the interests of the enterprise are insensitive to the social responsibilities of industry. Management is an agent of the enterprise which society has allowed to utilize the community's natural and human resources effectively in a socially approved manner. Management must meet the test of employing all persons who are willing to work when it can thereby increase our national well-being and the satisfaction of the individuals who make up our society. The means of achieving this end lie within management's hands through the redesign of jobs and the rehabilitation of older workers:

Solomon Barkin, New York City, is director of research of the Textile Workers Union of America (CIO). He has served as assistant director of research of the New York State Old Age Commission, as assistant director of the Labor Advisory Board, National Recovery Administration, and as chief of the Labor Section, Division of Industrial Economics, United States Department of Commerce. He is author or co-author of Old Age Security (1930), The Older Worker in Industry (1933), and other books and articles.

THE FARMERS' VIEWPOINT

By MARSHALL HARRIS ³

THERE appears to be no composite attitude of farm people, so far as I have been able to discover, toward a fixed retirement age for themselves. The widely varying economic status and social position of farmers make it impossible to arrive at an average or a

central tendency. The typical farm owner has accumulated more worldly goods than the average tenant of the same age, although both are independent entrepreneurs. As a consequence, the owner's economic retirement problem is much less. Furthermore, he has reached a highly coveted goal—farm home ownership—whereas the tenant is landless. Thus, the owner's psychological attachment to the land and to farming is greater than the tenant's.

³ The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics or the Department of Agriculture.

Considering only these two items, both the owner and the tenant are in a paradoxical position. The owner may be economically able to retire, but he is not psychologically prepared to do so. The reverse is true of the tenant. Since the problems facing the typical owner and tenant are different, any retirement plans and programs, including private and voluntary ones, must be tailor-made to meet the needs of each group.

Looking at the retirement problems of farm laborers, we must distinguish between the year-round worker and the migrant laborer, although they have many characteristics in common. Neither is as deeply rooted in the land as are farm owners. Their savings, if any, are notoriously inadequate. Both migrant and year-round laborers are accustomed to working for others. Yet there are significant differences. The year-round worker is established in the community. The community, if not the employer, has a feeling of responsibility for him—it is ready to furnish him odd jobs, little services, and petty assistance to help out. On the other hand, the migrant laborer has no community ties; no one feels responsible for him; and often he finds it difficult to supplement retirement income.

A tentative generalization and a hypothesis can be presented at this point for consideration. (1) The economic problems of retirement at a fixed age diminish, while the psychological problems increase, as farm people attain higher rungs on the so-called agricultural ladder. (2) If retirement plans and programs are adapted to the distinctive needs of each farm group, the benefits of retirement will be maximized and costs will be minimized. We need to consider more fully farmer economic and psychological problems to determine if the generalization is based on facts and if the hypothesis is worthy of testing.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

For farmers who are forced to retire or who want to retire, the largest single problem is an economic one. Having assurance that income will be available until the end of life is part and parcel of this complex. This is shown clearly in an Illinois study.⁴ The magnitude of the economic problem increases when the price level rises rapidly, as during the past two decades, and when rising prices are coupled to an ever improving level of living. These two factors have tended, over recent years, to make retirement with a fixed income rather uninviting, whether such income be derived from savings, pensions, or public assistance.

Compulsory retirement at an arbitrarily selected age would deprive many owners, most tenants, and practically all laborers of the food, housing, and clothing that minimum standards would indicate as acceptable. If not physically disabled, they could supplement their retirement income with gardens and subsistence livestock. Some could do odd jobs in the community to add to their income. But few of them are interested in public assistance that would require one "to sign papers against" his house, as a retired man in Pennsylvania put it. Retirements can be made most effective by blending private self-help and public old-age assistance.

There is another economic aspect to the matter of retirement at a fixed age. It would entail a large, needless, money cost to society; for numerous farmers at age 65 still have many hours, properly rationed, of physical labor to con-

⁴ Cleo Fitzsimmons, *Provisions for Security Made by a Number of Farm Families in Three Areas of Illinois*, Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 537, Urbana, 1950.

tribute. And, more important, there would be an uneconomic dissipation of much knowledge gained through years of experience, if farm operators had to retire at a given age.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Keeping occupied, fighting idleness, is a problem of considerable magnitude for many farmers when they retire, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. The problem of keeping occupied for a person who has maintained an active physical life is largely a matter of being physically busy at something that is needed, something that counts. This is difficult for a retired person who has worked hard all his life at farming, giving little thought to the development of a time-consuming avocation.

A Pennsylvania study⁵ shows that physical disability causes much more retirement than all other reasons—physical disability 70 per cent, voluntary retirement 12 per cent, and all other causes 18 per cent. When retirement is thus involuntary, the matter of keeping occupied is greatly aggravated.

Farmers, generally, in my observation, do not understand why anyone should want to retire voluntarily; they are amazed that a person should want to be unproductive. This viewpoint is strongly undergirded with long tradition. Farmers vie with neighbors to see who can produce the most. They pride themselves in providing food and fiber for an ever increasing proportion of the population. Although the farm may be one of the few places where the innerspring or air foam mattress has not completely replaced the feather bed, farmer psychology frowns upon "featherbedding" as practiced in

some urban industries. The rural mind cannot sanction permanently any means employed to limit the output of a day's labor.

RETIRE OR RETREAT

The problem of retirement of farm owners is traditionally thought of as a problem for mother and father. However, what mother and father do after they become 65 or so is of much concern to the younger people. With the disappearance of free land and the declining possibility of buying a farm, the young couple have a problem in getting started in farming before they become old. Retirement plans of family farmers determine quite specifically what the young people can do. Can family arrangements be worked out whereby the objectives of both couples can be attained?

An ever increasing number of farm families appear to think so. Numerous sons are being introduced to farming via 4-H Club and Future Farmers of America projects. They gain experience and accumulate capital while working with father. At the proper time, when dad is wanting to take it easy and son is rearing to go, a father-son agreement is made for joint operation of the farm. Later, without divesting himself of his old-age security, the father makes arrangements for the son to take over full operation of the farm with the assurance that he will become owner of the farm when his parents die.⁶

The father does not *retire* from the farm, rather he *retreats* from active management and hard work. He remains on the farm, gets income from it, works when and as it suits him, enjoys the things to which he is accustomed, and lives in happiness and security at peace with the world. Lucky indeed

⁵ A'Delbert P. Samson and William G. Mather, *Personal and Social Adjustments of 49 Retired Rural Men*, Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station Progress Report 19, State College, 1950.

⁶ Marshall Harris, "A New Agricultural Ladder," XXVI *Land Economics*, 258, Aug. 1950.

are a rapidly increasing number of farm owners who can retreat yet not retire. Obviously, very few tenants and practically no laborers have been able to work out arrangements whereby they can retreat from farming in this way.

CHANGING ATTITUDE

A generation ago, many well-to-do farmers looked forward to the day when they could retire and move to town. But today, as a result of modern improvements, the typical farmer with means plans to spend his last years on the soil that he knows so well and in the house where his children played. A New York study indicates that about seven out of eight farmers planned to live on the farm after "retirement" and continue to work.⁷

Another urban attitude that appears to be spreading in rural areas is the decreasing feeling of responsibility for the old folks on the part of the children. In an earlier generation or so, the young people saw to it that mother and father were adequately taken care of during their declining years. Today the mantle of filial responsibility seems to rest somewhat more lightly upon farm youth. This is not by way of lamenting the passing of a custom, but to point out one of the problems of present-day retirement.

This trend is being accelerated by a lengthening life expectancy and a diminishing size of farm families. These trends have increased by leaps and bounds the magnitude of the burden of parental care that falls on rural children. In former years the farm family was made up of six to ten children, and

many a mother and father passed on soon after normal aging began to sap their vitality. Today, with smaller families and longer life, three or four children would have to provide for mother and father for many years of low physical vigor.

FLEXIBILITY NEEDED IN RETIREMENT PROGRAM

Farmers do not age at the same rate nor do they look with favor upon retirement while still able to do productive work; retirement at a fixed age is not advisable. The economic and psychological problems of retirement are different for owners, tenants, and laborers; as a consequence, retirement plans, whether private or public, voluntary or involuntary, should be tailor-made to suit the needs of each group. Barring severe physical disabilities, farmers should retreat rather than retire from farming. Many farm owners are doing this now, but it is a difficult accomplishment for tenants and laborers. Any retirement program must be kept flexible to meet the changing attitudes of farmers resulting particularly from apparent lessening of family responsibilities, decreasing size of family, and increasing life expectancy.

Marshall Harris, Ph.D., Washington, D. C., is an agricultural economist with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. He has been in charge of the Department's research work on land tenure and has served on several regional and national committees dealing with the land problem. He is author of numerous extension circulars, technical articles, and research bulletins and is co-editor of Family Farm Policy (1947) and Agrarian Reform and Moral Responsibility (1949).

⁷ T. N. Hurd, *Old Age Plans and Programs of Farmers*, Cornell University Department of Agricultural Economics, A.E. 698, Ithaca, 1949.

Creative Activities of Older People

By HOWARD WHEELER

I HAVE been asked to contribute to this survey a layman's view relative to creative activities of older people. An endeavor to comply has been based upon an assumption that by "creative activities" is meant exercise of the native creative capacities of the individual in making his full contribution to society throughout the entire course of his life. To find and apply measures that will ensure the maximum of freedom in the exercise of creative capacity, therefore, seems to me to be the crux of this aspect of problems connected with aging.

Now a lay adventurer into waters largely uncharted must be wary about crossing the bows of explorers more scientifically equipped. This observation comes out of a feeling that when a writer enters upon an assignment in an environment new in his experience, it is highly desirable that he establish at once a basis of understanding with the reader.

A reporter in the field of popular journalism ordinarily has little opportunity to familiarize himself with the methods and the tools of scientific investigation. He relies mostly upon seeing, hearing, and reading as much as he can, understanding as much of it as he can, and telling about it as accurately and clearly as he can. When it comes to a consideration of the creative activities of human beings in the later years, therefore, this reporter would seem to have little choice but to continue to make these his chief reliance. Included in the aggregate can be some fortuitous experience as a participant in the First National Conference on Aging, held in Washington, D. C., in

August 1950. Here was opportunity not only to broaden horizon by watching the play of specially qualified minds in dealing with the various aspects of a national problem, but to observe at close range the approach, attack, and techniques of scientific research. This, and a deal of reading since, have more than ever persuaded a lay investigator that in undertaking an exploratory venture into the terrain of the gerontologist he would better stick to tools comfortably suited, through long use, to his hand.

SOME LAY CONCEPTS

As well worn as any of these, perhaps, is one fashioned of necessity for drawing from the pigeonholes of experience those things needed for servicing a specific need. Use this as I will in the present need, I find myself arriving always at three rather well-defined conclusions: first, that creative activity is creative imagination at the point of self-expression; second, that creative imagination, chronologically, is age-free; and third, that while the creative imagination may decline in liveliness in the later years of life, the value of its product may steadily increase, even right up to the life experience identified as death.

To find Science inclined to give the nod to conclusions such as these is to give edge to zest in a reporter's quest for the facts about man and his years. Gerontology is a new science, geriatrics a new profession. The words themselves are still strangers on the tongue of the uninitiate. Gerontologists and geriatricians who took part in the Conference on Aging were as one in their

emphasis on the need for a tremendous amount of research before the sciences can give anything approaching final answers to a myriad of questions that have to do with the aging of the individual and the aging of a population. One of the conclusions reached by a conference group made up of specialists in the van of investigation, the section on Research, was this:

There is no intelligence test in existence which samples all or even most of the mental abilities known to psychology. Creative thinking, for example, usually is not measured by our tests. . . . Equally important it is to promote research aimed to delay or fully prevent the loss of mental abilities. If we couple added years of life with undiminished mental vigor, who can say what wonders will emerge from our laboratories, or what songs our poets will sing?

A conclusion of another group of the same conference, the section on Population Changes and Economic Implications, gave further reassurance:

"Aged" or "old" are relative terms. . . . There is no single criterion or classification by which an individual or class may be unequivocally designated as aged or old.

An ageless faculty

Here and elsewhere in the deliberations of men and women from many regions and diverse callings, a newspaperman gathered that comfortable feeling of being safely on course. He had watched human actions and reactions, including his own, in earthquake, conflagration, pestilence, social upheaval, and war, as well as in more normal settings. He had watched genius at work, and had bought some of its product for its value in the humdrum business of attracting readers, building circulation, increasing advertising at increasing rates, and so holding place in an editor's chair. Ideas had been his stock in trade—ideas and the promo-

tion of them. He had experienced occupational victories and defeats; good times and hard times; the elation of fruition and the bitterness of frustration—including a rather long stretch during which he had no eyes to see with, and so, perforce, had learned not a little about the baleful work of destructive imagination as well as about both the prophylactic and therapeutic power of the creative imagination. Out of it all had come no hint that the number of times the earth makes its circuit of the sun in the course of a lifetime has aught to do either with the actuality of the creative faculty or with the individual's right and ability to channel it for his own and others' good.

Thus it was that a lay investigator, without much awareness of it, had been more or less well conditioned for an enlivening experience in conference participation in a field to which theretofore he had given scant thought, and for a sharp new interest in the reading and listening which were to follow. The reading, by a happy circumstance, was to include a close study of the entire manuscript of the group accounts of the conference discussions and the reaching of conclusions. Going on from there has been something like following the blaze marks of a newly broken trail. Explorers out ahead have been finding scientific support for a lay observer's impression: that the human faculty which finds its expression in creative activity is time-immune.

THE "CURVE" OF CONTRIBUTION

If this should turn out to be the truth about the faculty itself, what of the quantity and quality of its expression? Here it is clearly part of a reporter's job to take into full account the work of those who have sought in the history of great achievement a relationship of chronological age to creative contribution.

H. C. Lehman's studies of the creative impulse, in *Scientific Monthly* and elsewhere, Dorland's analysis¹ of age averages at which four hundred eminent persons produced their masterpieces—such as these make memory-provoking reading. It seems out of line with experience, somehow, that writers of best books and military leaders should be grouped together as reaching their peaks in the middle 40's; that medical men should be classified with certain types of musical composers as at their zenith between 35 and 39; that philosophers should be bracketed with men of affairs as not reaching full creative stature until the late 50's:

Out of clear-cut recollection come items of individual performance by the outstanding which do not seem to check. It is quite easy to thumb through memory records of high-level contribution, of friendships or close contacts with men and women distinguished in creative work, of opportunities to be at the scene of action when certain of the world's great were transforming ideas into creative action—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau; Pershing, Joffre, Foch; Walter Hines Page, Brand Whitlock, Hull; Steffens, Brandeis, Norman Hapgood; Lillian Martin, Ida Tarbell, Helen Keller; E. W. Scripps, William Allen White, Fremont Older; Oliver Herford, George Bellows, Gordon Grant; Frederick Palmer, Sir Philip Gibbs, the Irwins; John Drew, Otis Skinner, the Barrymores. Names bring back personalities—the detail of outstanding performance; and nowhere, or so it seems, an age-performance pattern.

Surely, one thinks, Science will find ways by which to identify and evaluate factors other than chronological age which can enter in when creative activity shows a downward curve in the

¹ W. A. N. Dorland, *The Age of Mental Virility*, New York: Century Co., 1908.

later years. Immediately, and again out of personal experience and observation, several such factors suggest themselves. Prominent among them are economic insecurity; lowered living levels; anxiety; age barriers to gainful employment; frustration; loneliness; a sense of being "out of it"; deeply grooved social attitudes running all the way from indifference as regards the aged and aging to contempt and outright antagonism; defensive reactions of older people themselves, causing emotional blocks to creative expression.

Again the lay investigator comes upon evidence that scientific method has been out ahead of him, and has not been overlooking factors such as these. For example, he finds Lawton making a point of Lehman's general conclusion that individuals may think creatively and make invaluable contributions at practically every age level beyond early youth; that it is merely a question of when a gifted person produces either his masterpiece or the greatest quantity of high-quality performance.² And this from Miles:

The aging person quite naturally does not want to admit that the total psychological organism, the personality, is changing in an unfavorable way. Nor should he, because until the true course of adult personality development is plotted in detail with as full regard for positive as for negative aspects, the available picture, although correct as far as it goes, may be fundamentally misleading. . . . The peak values are interesting and significant, but they do not tell the whole story. . . . The pertinent conclusion, for average as well as for specially gifted people, is that good work is not limited by life age.³

² George Lawton, "Aging Mental Abilities and Their Preservation," in *New Goals for Old Age* (George Lawton, Ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 25.

³ Walter R. Miles and Catherine C. Miles, "Mental Changes With Normal Aging," in *Geriatric Medicine* (Edward J. Stieglitz, Ed.

Senescence but not senility

Says Gumpert,

Senescence has to be, and there will be more and more of it to the degree in which people stop dying prematurely from disease. Senility need not be, and its presence will in the future be evidence of individual or of social neglect. . . . We have scores of magnificent examples that life is not ended at "threescore and ten" or at the point where our social security laws put an end to it. . . . The "master work," the climax of creative life, is often produced in what we consider old age. . . . Most of the great old men . . . were leaders and fighters. Their brains could not deteriorate because they used them hourly in creative activity.⁴

Only historic exceptions in the operation of a rule, these "magnificent examples"? Perhaps. Yet almost as this is being written, Dr. Gumpert moves out of the historic to report a trip abroad, during which he visited a number of distinguished persons of advanced age who still lead active and useful lives. The youngest was 77. In concluding an account of his adventures, he says:

I wonder whether life as a whole will not be richer and happier for all of us once we start discovering the unknown riches of old age, now hidden under old age's miseries. . . . We sometimes call an old man's dotage "second childhood." I would suggest there is often, instead, a second prime of life which we should discover and explore and cherish.⁵

Will scientific research one day turn suggestion into a solid fact? Should

Second edition, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1949), p. 91.

⁴ Martin Gumpert, *The Anatomy of Happiness* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1951), pp. 188, 190.

⁵ Martin Gumpert, "A Second Prime of Life—After 70," *New York Times Magazine*, July 8, 1951, p. 14.

the normal curve of creative contribution show twin peaks, rather than a single one? Certainly there is much in the experience of the later years to encourage a layman's belief that the physician and others of like or similar mind are on the trail to something close to the core of the aging problem.

THE CREATIVE POTENTIAL

As a nation more or less engrossed in mobilizing our resources for defense, we have fallen into a way of using the word "manpower" as though it were possible to compute the sum total of it from a unit of it. Yet in the run of the news, as well as in the run of a day's work, there is plenty to indicate the importance of the mental factor as an element of manpower. It asserts its authority while defying scale and slide rule. This, as the senescent well knows, becomes especially apparent as the years pile up. (I use the term "senescent," of course, in the sense of a normal, natural, healthy moving into the older years, not with the derogatory connotation which much thoughtless usage has given it.) Indeed, there can be times when the mental factor becomes the determinant of creative endeavor. So it can be like light in the clearing when a disheartened traveler through the older years comes upon evidence that experts are alert to this, and on the job; evidence, for instance, such as this from a prominent urologist:

The physical let-down with senescence is largely mental. Frustration, discouragement, unhappiness and fear are the hazards that lead to loss of appetite, insomnia, apathy, and then the physical break-up. . . . The ounce of prevention must come from within. . . . A plan is needed which will make useful and active the later years of life.⁶

⁶ Frank Hinman, "The Story of Old Age," *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (April 1947), pp. 105, 106.

Fruitage of imagination

What is the creative imagination? Where does it come from? Reading, a lay inquirer gathers that definitions and explanations, ancient, modern, and current, run the whole gamut from the furthestmost in materialism to the absolute in philosophy.

As an American, it may occur to him that in the American way of life which he enjoys there is much whose source is intangible—much which stems directly from the creative thinking of somebody. Evidences of the actuality and the potency of the creative imagination have become commonplaces in his experience. When he looks back, it may seem close to incredible that within the span of his own life he should have seen the first telephone and the first motor-driven vehicle to appear in his home town; should have witnessed the advent of the flying machine, the motion picture, radio, television, and a new era brought in through the interplay of human imagination and ingenuity in releasing, harnessing, and turning to use the awe-inspiring energy of that which can neither be seen, heard, touched, tasted, or smelled. As hard to realize, almost, is that it was only as far back as 1828 that the school board of Lancaster, Ohio should have written to a debating society of young men:

You are welcome to the use of the school house to debate all proper questions in, but such things as railroads and telegraphs are impossible and rank infidelity. There is nothing in the word of God about them. If God had designed that His intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of fifteen miles an hour, He would clearly have foretold through His holy prophets. It is a device of Satan to lead immortal souls down to hell.

What, comes the irreverent thought,

would the good men have said of an idea that one of those creatures might eat a day's breakfast in the nation's capital and the evening meal on the Pacific Coast? Here imagination falters.

To accept the creative faculty as an actuality is one thing. To think of the potential of its contribution is something else. It was only last evening that an aging Austrian, Haydn, reached across sea, land, and a century and a half, to give to a troubled and tired American, of about his own age, a full hour of complete relaxation; a blessed release from the bombardments of a world in conflict; an hour of life-renewing vacation in a world of serenity, beauty, master harmony. To how many millions of others, this free gift? To how many in the years past? To how many in the years, or centuries, to come?

Release of creative capacity

Lawton says:

It is fear of aging, rather than the aging process itself, which often causes a functional loss in the mental realm, just as it does in the physical. Anticipating the loss of efficiency, we hasten the arrival of what we expect. If the confidence in one's ability is essential at earlier life periods, it is most important during senescence. . . . There are unsuspected potentialities in almost everyone.⁷

If this is true—and experience in aging certainly tends to confirm it—then the obvious thing to do is to get rid of the smothering overlay of fear and so reveal and release the creative potential of older people. How to do it would seem to be a difficult problem. But surely not, once we accept, as an essential of our continuing security and well-being as a nation, a change in so-

⁷ George Lawton, *op cit.* note 2 *supra*, pp. 25, 27.

cial attitudes from those of indifference toward our aging, and worse, to that of the prospector—the expectancy of rich discovery. For appreciation of his worth is meat and drink to the fear-ridden senescent. Low evaluation, or none at all, is the father and mother of most of the anxieties which obscure the vein of his capabilities.

To survey; to dig; to analyze; to appraise and reappraise; to discard or refashion old tools; to invent and try out new ones; to do anything and everything that American ingenuity can devise to uncover and identify, community by community, individual by individual, the precious deposit of creative capacity; to open opportunity for its self-expression, and so to utilize—this, if appearances give true promise, is going to be the way.

A long and tedious process? Or one not distinct and isolated, but all one with the whole American process of growth? Only relatively, the thought comes, have we been a long time at work on the structure of a new, free society in the New World. We are still a young nation. As we are confronted by the fact of an aging population, perhaps it would be for the better to see ourselves as only accepting in stride the challenge of a new problem encountered in our building. Looking back, it does seem that that has been the way with us—always something new to surmount as we have moved to higher and higher ground, closer and closer to realization of the American ideal. Clearly, discrimination against the older members of our national family can be no part of that ideal. So we try new ways for meeting new situations, and hold course.

Indifference turns to interest

Gerontology is drawing prospectors from all the sciences. The list is impressive, and a heartener for those who

are trying under heavy impost to “put life into the later years.” Almost every week brings news of some research project expanded, planned, or being pressed forward. This and much more, surely, may safely be taken as herald, at least, of a new and determined approach to the problems of aging, full of real promise.

Great question marks are being hung over personnel theories and employment practices affecting older workers. Means of rehabilitation are being made more available to them. Techniques of job and worker analysis, job adjustment, retraining, and selective placement are being re-examined and revised. It was only the other day that the United States Department of Labor announced a new program for special older-worker counseling in public employment offices.

Responsive to widespread and insistent demand, the Federal Security Agency has made a start toward establishing a national clearing house for exchange of information and ideas, and has set up a Committee on Aging and Geriatrics. Countrywise, conferences, lecture courses, and institutes are on the increase. Programs of adult education are being broadened and improved. Closer attention is being given to the maintenance of the health and the incomes of older people, to their housing and family life, and to the provision of opportunities for social, civic, and recreational activities.

Horseshoes are all right. Pitching them can be fun. There is nothing to say against parchesi, square dancing, shuffleboard, or guessing games. All can be diverting, at times. But an aging worker ventures to rise in his place to say this: An attitude that would make children out of older adults is a mistake. As he watches a shift in attitudes, particularly as regards the

recreational needs of the aging, he is encouraged at indications of a widening recognition of the fact. There has been proof in his own experience that when the senescent is given opportunity to demonstrate that he can pull his own weight, lesser forms of recreation will take care of themselves. In his book, creation and recreation are one. The handicaps of the later years are at once challenge and distinction. It is the dignity of usefulness that counts: the certain knowledge that his creative potential is recognized and wanted in the work of the national community. That is living.

CONSERVATION OF CREATIVE RESOURCES

A time of national danger has given rise to more than ordinary interest in our human resources and their utilization. Perhaps, it occurs, there would be advantage in a little more emphasis on the difference between utilization and conservation; for a nation with more than 12 million men and women over 65 in its population, and with a prospect of having 17 to 20 million by 1975, is faced by long-term problems of wise utilization as well as by immediate problems of utilization in emergency—of conservation as well as of mobilization.

Mr. Marion Clawson is the director of the Bureau of Land Management, United States Department of the Interior. As such, he is a conservationist who speaks with authority. He said recently:

Conservation means maximum, continued use of resources both material and human. While conservation relates very largely to the use of material or physical resources such as land, and the resources above and below the earth, it can apply also to the use of human resources. . . . Thus defined, conservation is an attitude of mind, rather

than a specific program of any kind. Conservation in this sense involves primary emphasis on human values. We are concerned with the maximum well-being of the individual, both now and in the future.⁸

Can it be that here—in “an attitude of mind, rather than a specific program”—we shall find the key to problems connected with the aging of our population? During the months since the holding of the National Conference on Aging, certainly, a growing public awareness of the serious implications of census figures has been clearly discernible at any point of convergence of citizen thinking and community activity. It has been reflected not only in conferences, educational extension work, and research, but also in the launching of community programs for the solution of problems of aging, in the spread of “golden age” clubs and similar groups, in legislation enacted and proposed, and in definitely expressed insistence on the need for a national policy and co-ordinated action.

The signs are provocative. These evidences of a new outlook—could they not add up to a conservation movement in the making? Can they not be taken as indicative of a people's revaluation of a resource heretofore unsuspected or unappreciated—ignorantly, thoughtlessly, or contemptuously abandoned as worked out? From some vantage point of the future will not the careful historian see them as advance markers of a nation's attainment of new heights of wealth, well-being, and power through the reclamation, utilization, and conservation of the creative abilities of millions of seasoned Americans too long barred from opportunity to contribute by reason of chronological age alone?

⁸ Commencement address, Eastern Montana College of Education, Billings, Montana, June 4, 1951.

Trying the impossible

One thing, at least, is certain. Time was, and not so far back, when we would admire, wonder, and let it go at that, if the creative drive of someone well advanced in years would break through all barriers in an astonishing display of capacity. Now we try to understand. Pitkin, for example, in an endeavor to explain "Grandma" Moses, makes use of this "bit of wisdom":

There was a man who asked, "Why
Can't I see in my ear with my eye?
If I put my mind to it I'm sure I could do it.
You never can tell 'til you try."

Professor Pitkin thinks

Here is the fountain of all science, as well as all common sense. Here is more wisdom than is set down between the book of Genesis and the last line of the Bill of Rights. Please do six impossible things before breakfast. If you don't end up painting 1086 paintings, at good prices, you may hit on something better.⁹

If a volunteer gerontologist's first reaction is to lift an eyebrow, second thought brings this reflection: After all, every time we turn on a light instead of fussing with a candle or wasting good expletives on a balky and smelly kerosene lamp, every time we pick up the telephone, climb into an automobile or plane, use the radio or television, or read about some new wonder in an atomic age, aren't we, literally, experiencing the success of somebody who was sure he could "see in his ear with his eye," and found what it took to try it? Besides, it is true that old people, by and large, have more time than young people for trying the impossible.

The Gumpert idea of a second prime of life recurs. Tibbitts, always the pio-

⁹ Walter Pitkin, *The Best Years* (New York: Current Books, Inc., 1946), p. 49.

neer, seems also to be looking in this direction. There was that in a recent offering of his which suggests a whole new region for exploration:

Changes characteristic of aging are but part of the continuing life process. They may well mark the beginning of the phase of life in which the individual possesses the maximum accumulation of knowledge, experience and judgment. Indeed, it has been suggested that survival beyond the period of reproduction and responsibilities of parenthood may be part of the master plan of life. For not until we are freed of these responsibilities do we have the time and energy to make our greatest contribution.¹⁰

"The-master plan of life." The concept attracts strongly. Why not? We of America have not found it hard to accept the concept laid in the base of our nationhood—that of certain specified rights divinely given and inseparable from the individual. It was only the other day that we read of a new and costly process being used by the government, the better to preserve the declaration of our belief in the actuality of these rights and our readiness to fight for the enjoyment of them. Would it be too hard to include a concept of the creative faculty as an aid, similarly bestowed and likewise inseparable? Or to think of what we call old age as a period of lightened load, intended for maximum enjoyment through greater freedom for expression of creative power?

Certainly if our whole nation should begin to think this way, our older people would move again into their place of dignity and importance. They could stop thinking about their age, or even about themselves. For all of us would be as alert and determined in defense

¹⁰ Clark Tibbitts, address, 11th Annual Townsend Convention, Detroit, Michigan, July 2, 1951.

of unseen potentials as we are in defense of unseen rights.

THE JOB AHEAD

"Master plan." Perhaps that is why the creative faculty does not wear out. And perhaps the job ahead of us may be broadly conceived as a three-pronged attack on the problems implicit in an aging population, with the objectives these:

1. To bring about a general citizen acceptance of the actuality of the creative faculty of each individual, regardless of age, as a national asset.

2. To bring about a general citizen recognition of the immeasurable value of its potential.

3. To bring about a general acceptance of citizen responsibility for opening and holding open opportunity for its free expression, and for provision of capable evaluation and wise utilization.

Indeed, at least one lay observer has become convinced that we have on our hands a job of education and re-education whose scope is national and whose challenge is such as to call for the best we have in American ingenuity and the demonstrated American capacity for achievement of the difficult.

Howard Wheeler, Washington, D. C., is a veteran journalist whose experience as reporter, news analyst, war correspondent, and editor covers almost half a century. He is a former editor of the San Francisco News, Harper's Weekly, and Everybody's Magazine. Following World War II, during which, commissioned as a commander, he served as editor and officer-in-charge of Mast Magazine, United States Maritime Service, he became actively interested in problems connected with aging. He participated in the 1950 National Conference on Aging, helped to edit the reports of the various sections for book publication, and is now an editorial consultant attached to the staff of the Federal Security Agency Committee on Aging and Geriatrics.

Creative Activity Through Handcrafts

By RUTH BUNKER

FOR many older persons handcrafts as a second career can provide an absorbing energy outlet and vocational resource which not only will replace but can exceed the job satisfaction hitherto enjoyed. And handcrafts will pay, too. But the greatest dividends in terms of success and enjoyment are gained by those who make plans and start on them early, so that the transfer from a first to a second career is an easy one. All of this takes hard work. Communities can contribute by organized planning.

PERSONAL SATISFACTION THROUGH CRAFTS

For years the idea has been spreading that everyone should have a hobby of some kind, some absorbing interest that will be a change from the regular routine. To my way of thinking, if the choice is one of the many handcrafts, the individual making it is especially fortunate.

There is a basic need within us all to create things with our own hands. Experience has shown that older people have a heightened appreciation for anything which they themselves have made.

The extensive use of the handcrafts in occupational therapy has had far-reaching results. In the years since World War I, thousands of patients have become familiar with crafts as used in hospitals, and have been so intrigued that they have chosen one of the crafts as their hobby or even as their vocation. The therapeutic value of crafts is now accepted and well known. Crafts are an ideal solution for many of the problems facing the older people in our population.

The great variety of crafts from which to choose means that there is one to fit almost any physical capacity, inclination, or capability, and practically any purse! The numerous craft guilds give opportunities to participate in a group, to become a leader in that group. Craft groups answer the need for companionship, recognition, and status. There are local and national shows in which to compete. One can develop a small business to augment one's income. All this activity can fill one's days to overflowing if one wishes. The membership of the craft guilds is composed of a healthy mixture of all ages and both sexes. The older person may naturally gravitate to his own age group for close companions, but younger individuals in the same guild will keep him more alert and mentally young.

Frequently husbands and wives find in crafts an opportunity to work together. The husband may be the craftsman, with the wife handling the business or vice versa. There are cases of wives who became interested in a craft and managed to inveigle their husbands into a much-needed chance to use their hands. One instance was an older woman who decided to take up pottery. After a few months her husband, a professional man, became so intrigued by the formulas used in glazes that he now makes all her glazes. A woman who loved to make silver jewelry finally persuaded her husband to try cutting gems for her; as an engineer who had recently recovered from a serious illness, he became fascinated and now has a much-needed leisure-time occupation. They are making retirement plans which center around these mutual interests.

HANDCRAFTS GAIN RECOGNITION

Twenty-five years ago, the craftsman had little opportunity to exhibit his work. If he belonged to one of the few guilds, there would be a small private showing of the members' work, going quite without notice by the general public. The museums had many examples of ancient Japanese ceramics, of American Indian pots, of Colonial silverwork; but the work of contemporary craftsmen received no attention.

Since the late twenties the craft movement in the United States has been growing, at first slowly and then more rapidly until now there are thousands of craftsmen in all sections of the country. With this growth in interest there has come a parallel growth in the recognition of crafts as a valuable part of our culture.

Today the artist-craftsman is an accepted member of the art world. Museums, both large and small, sponsor annual craft exhibitions in their areas, and purchase prize-winning pieces for their collections. Some artists now work both in the fine arts and in the crafts without any loss in stature. The sculptor frequently makes small ceramic sculpture for the modern apartment; it is but a step for him to make other ceramic pieces and ally himself with a craft group. Lithographers, etchers, and printers are often found in the craft guilds. Artists working in serigraphy (the silk-screen process of printing) find a welcome among the craftsmen. These few examples illustrate the increased awareness of the craftsman as a valuable contributor to our culture.

Society is also willing to give more than recognition; it is willing to support handcrafts by buying them. The better gift shops now stock handcrafted items. The gift departments of the big

stores are glad to carry the work of craftsmen who can meet their large orders. The shops that depend entirely on tourist trade have found that crafts from their own localities sell well as mementos of trips. The huge attendance at the large summer craft fairs demonstrates this growing interest on the part of the public. The fairs have become focal points around which to plan vacation trips. There are demonstrations to watch, fellow craftsmen to talk to, work to compare with one's own, and the judges' decisions to challenge.

STATUS OF CRAFT MOVEMENT

People not directly connected with the craft movement have little realization of how widespread this movement is today. There are many elements which have contributed to this growth—the teaching of crafts to children in summer camps, the frequent inclusion of craft courses in the public school curricula, the extensive use of occupational therapy in treating the veterans of two world wars, the use of crafts in adult education programs, and now, in a few communities, in homes for the aged and for older people confined to their own homes. All these factors have produced many people with at least a preliminary knowledge of craft work. Even for those who have not taken up handcrafts seriously, it has led to a genuine appreciation of the work of the producing artist-craftsman.

Craft guilds, older and more numerous in New England, from which the craft movement has spread, are now to be found all over the country. Some are large, some small, some include all crafts, and some but one type of craft. Founded in 1897, the Society of Arts and Crafts in Boston, Massachusetts, is the oldest of the craft groups. Its

aim has always been to uphold a high standard of craftsmanship, and it is credited with great influence in the present craft movement.

An example of the state-wide type of guild is the well-known League of New Hampshire Arts and Crafts. The first to be state supported, it functions under a council and has a paid staff and many volunteer workers. Now in its eighteenth year, it has over 3,800 members. Maine was the second state to have a state-aided program. The program was discontinued during World War II and has not yet been resumed. However, handcrafts in Maine are flourishing, generally on an individual basis, but with several local guilds. In Connecticut, where there is a state-wide guild, state aid for crafts has been directed only to the educational aspect. This is true also in Massachusetts, where there are twenty-one handcraft groups. The state-wide Pennsylvania Guild of Craftsmen has over 1,000 members and is still growing. It is not state supported, and its activities are centered in the various county chapters. New York has recently established a state program, and it is too early to judge what direction its emphasis will take.

While local craft groups may be urban or rural, these state-wide groups are a mixture of both. There is a growing tendency for retired people to settle in small rural communities. A craft guild membership makes this transfer from urban to rural an easy, natural shift, with new friends and associates ready-made.

One large guild which works entirely with rural people is the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild. Established in 1930, it was formed to help the mountain people of the southern Appalachian region to improve and preserve their handcraft skills and market their prod-

ucts. Many of its members are older persons who continue to work at their crafts until well into their eighties. This guild has grown steadily, until now it has eight shops in various cities, including New York and Washington. It has become an important factor in the income of many families in that region.

Local craft groups exist in practically all the states, with the crafts of weaving and ceramics predominating. New York and Florida have recently formed state programs. The Midwest and the Far West have no state-wide groups that I know of, but there is great activity in many regions, such as among the potters in Ohio and in California.

FACILITIES FOR TRAINING IN CRAFTS

Many thousands of people now enjoy crafts as a hobby or as a part-time or full-time profession. Where do they get their training? The facilities are better than might be expected.

In urban areas there are craft classes at the museums, summer courses under the art departments of colleges and universities, craft courses in art schools, adult education courses in crafts in the evenings at public schools, and innumerable private instructors (both adequate and inadequate).

In rural areas, probably the best sources are the home demonstration agents, employed co-operatively by the State Extension Service and the Department of Agriculture Extension Service. For many years the federal Extension Service had a craft consultant who spearheaded this work nationally. Since her retirement no national leadership has been provided, but the home demonstration agents continue to advise rural people, primarily women, on how to improve and market their handwork. While much of this work is not

of top quality, the extension workers are of definite assistance.

As noted earlier, the movement of older people to small communities for retirement has brought top-notch craftsmen into rural areas, where they are available for teaching. Another interesting factor in some rural areas has been the settling of displaced persons who have brought European techniques to add to our knowledge. The intensive, short-period, summer training courses now offered by many universities and colleges have made training facilities available to almost everyone. There are summer camps for adults which specialize in craft instruction. Although some of these camps are conducted by the guilds, most are the undertakings of individual craftsmen.

HANDCRAFTS CAN PAY

The question which almost immediately crops up is: Can handicrafts be a source of income? The answer is definitely, Yes. In recent years numerous books have been written about making money at home with one's hands. Most of these deal with the handwork, hobby-type activity, too much of which consists of poorly designed and crudely made work. But some of the books are written for those who do want to turn out craft work of a high standard. The good ones contain suggestions about marketing, packaging, advertising, efficiency in production, and similar problems.

To be self-supporting from craftwork calls for skill, salesmanship, and hard work. It is not easy, but it can be done, as many cases prove. One young World War II veteran who was given weaving as occupational therapy found he had an unexpected talent for it—he is a born weaver, his teachers say. He went on to weaving as a profession, and enjoyed almost instant suc-

cess. A middle-aged woman, advised by her physician to do some weaving as light exercise for her arms and legs, developed such skill in a few months that she now has more orders than she can fill comfortably.

It is, of course, less difficult to earn only a partial income from crafts, as is the need of many retired people with a small pension or retirement income. This is quite within the realm of possibility for a great many. A librarian, facing retirement within a year, took up jewelry work with the object of establishing a small shop in her home town. The small town had many tourists and no gift shop, so she planned to sell other crafts, also. She had no exceptional talent, but did good, workmanlike pieces of conventional design. Her plans have worked out just as she hoped.

Many professional men are attracted to crafts. Dentists, with their training and experience in work with gold and silver, frequently take up jewelry making as a hobby. Engineers often like metalwork and gem cutting. A surprising number of men make rugs—hooked, braided, woven. For all these craft products there is a market. It may take time to find the right outlet, but if designed well and made well, they will sell.

Many people who only supplement their income through crafts rely on the summer fairs of the guilds as their sole outlets. Their sales at the fairs, plus the orders taken, provide them with all the work they can handle for the rest of the year. One weaver makes up a few yards of sample patterns each spring. She has a tiny shop during July and August, and takes enough orders then to keep her busy through the fall and winter. At last summer's sale of The Maine Coast Craftsmen there were none of the hooked rugs for

which the state is famous. On inquiring I learned that the craftsmen who usually bring their work were entirely sold out before fair time. The tourist trade, an important business in many states, is a good source of income for the craftsman.

The craftsman's marketing problem is one place where both guilds and states can help effectively. One of the aims of most guilds is to advise craftsmen in marketing, and to provide an outlet, often through a guild shop.

One of the most successful programs of government aid to craftsmen is that of the province of Nova Scotia, Canada. Administered by the Department of Trade and Industry, this handcraft program includes extensive training courses for any groups requesting it, individual advice on marketing problems, aid in contacting buyers, the renting of equipment, a library, exhibits, and a design service. It has been so successful that handcrafts are considered an integral part of the economy of the province. New York has a similar but less extensive or technical program, which advises women who want to make money by doing handwork at home.

COMMUNITY FACILITIES FOR HANDCRAFTS

Communities wishing to further the craft movement in their areas can do several concrete things. They can sponsor the formation of a guild. The guild will be interested in ensuring that standards of workmanship are maintained, training in crafts offered, exhibitions given, and sales outlets explored. A central meeting place is needed. Perhaps there is a room in the public library, the museum, the art club, the Young Women's Christian Association, a church building. Schools can be encouraged to offer craft classes in the evening adult education program. And so on.

An active craft guild can be a most important factor in promoting a full and satisfying life for older people. The retired person who has time to give to it will find ample opportunity for participation, and for leadership if he is qualified. Age has never made any difference among craftsmen—skill, yes; enthusiasm and interest, yes; but age, no.

Ruth Bunker, Washington, D. C., jeweler and silversmith, is editor of the monthly news bulletin The Cross-Country Craftsman. Medicine and art have shared her interest. She was successively a staff member of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia, of the Social Security Board's (Administrator's) Bureau of Research and Statistics, and of the Department of Agriculture's Farmers Home Administration.

Sharing Community Responsibility

By JEAN and JESS OGDEN

TWO years ago the University of Virginia's Extension Division published a leaflet on the aging population.¹ On the cover page is the following statement: "The facts show that people are living longer in Virginia: . . . They want nothing so much as to share in the daily responsibilities and enjoyments of their communities." The pamphlet carries the suggestion that the problem of continued participation of older citizens is one that must be studied thoughtfully in every community by people of all ages and varied interests and by every institution and agency in the community.

"We have published this bulletin," it continues, "in the hope that it may initiate a process of cooperative inquiry that will serve to formulate the needs in this field, assess available resources, and devise plans for bringing resources to bear on the needs."²

COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITIES

It is only, we are convinced, in the communities where they live and move and have their being that people "can devise plans," for every community has its unique pattern and its special resources. Any plans devised on a national or even a state-wide scale must be general. Communities can undoubtedly make specific application of the generalizations in terms of their special needs and potentialities. And certainly a pooling of ideas, achievements, and experiences by many communities seriously engaged in "cooperative inquiry" could help other communities through-

out the nation. But those that are so engaged are a small minority—largely in urban areas. Some means must be devised for helping all of us to understand the implications of the age shift in our population and to accept the necessity for seeing public life and the institutions of our communities in new relationships.

In looking over the rapidly increasing literature on the subject of our aging population, one finds many articles whose titles, and frequently contents, suggest that "we" must do something for or about "them." "We," presumably, means society or possibly the younger segment of the community; "they," all too frequently, means the poor, the sick, the physically and emotionally inadequate among the aging. There will always be some of these for whom others must bear the burden of planning and care. But they constitute only a small part and will become a smaller part as medical science understands better the diseases of age, as industry progresses with its study of jobs for older workers, as financial plans for retirement are improved. The body of able elder citizens who can be real assets to the community is already large. It will be larger. Planning is not a job that any "we" can or should do for any "them." It is a job that involves the total community. Only as we "see the community whole" can we do any intelligent planning for any segment of it.

Reports from most of the communities that have been working on the problem of the aging give considerable attention to clubs, hobbies, sociability, recreation, and similar activities—in addition, of course, to physical needs, housing, and financial problems. Too

¹ "People Are Living Longer," Vol. XXVII, *University of Virginia Extension*, No. 5, Oct. 1, 1949.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

few make any mention of civic and social activities and ways in which the older citizens might bear a share of their responsibility for the common welfare. Among the exceptions is a report³ from Kansas City in which we find this statement:

The progressive, prosperous community of the future will be one that makes use of older persons who want to participate in social and economic affairs. Kansas City cannot afford to neglect this largely untapped source of talent and experience.

No community can afford to neglect it—particularly in view of the fact that a smaller proportion of younger people must carry a heavier burden of those aspects of living that require physical strength and vigorous bodies. Enlightened self-interest places on the citizens of every community the necessity for analyzing the contributions that can best be made by each age group in its population. Then they must so proceed as to disassociate themselves from old, accepted patterns and accept the implications of the age shift in our population.

Unless careful planning of this kind is done, we shall all be the victims of what happens to happen. Nothing is to be gained, however, by approaching the problem of community responsibilities of the aging from the purely sentimental point of view. Thought must be given to their liabilities as well as to their assets; and much thought must be given to the kind of preparation for aging that will prepare all of us as we grow older to carry our civic responsibilities wisely and well.

YEARS AND WISDOM

In most primitive societies and early civilization, the "Old-Men-Who-Knew"

³ *We All Grow Old: A Study of Kansas City's Aging Population.* Community Studies, Inc., no date.

were assured of a pretty important place in public life, as Professor Simmons shows in his article. The Spartans, at a relatively advanced stage of civilization, were governed by a council called the gerusia made up of thirty gerontes, each of whom had to be at least 60 years of age.⁴ But, with the rapid progress made by science in the past century and other factors contributing to longevity, the mere fact of age nowadays does not guarantee wisdom. That is, we are being kept alive. This is a far cry from keeping ourselves alive. The latter required an eternal vigilance, a continuous alertness, a conscious habit of learning from experience that made for a self-directed program of continuing education throughout life—the kind of approach whereby the knowledge that is acquired becomes the wisdom that lingers. By the same token, age, per se, does not today command veneration or even admiration. Older people—like children, adolescents, and younger adults—are respected as individuals rather than as a group; and they are respected because of what they are, rather than because of the number of years they have, or have not, lived.

Yet the available evidence does not show that the wisdom of the elders is being disregarded today in relation to the common welfare in the United States. In the Seventy-ninth Congress, thirty-two out of the ninety-six senators were over 65—one-third of the total group. In the House of Representatives, 21 per cent belonged to the same age group. In 1948 we elected the oldest Vice President we have ever had, and with him the third-oldest President. We have, during the war and the period following it, drawn back into public life retired men whose former experience and accumulated wisdom were felt to be

⁴ Joshua Nelson Larned, *New Larned History*, rev. by D. E. Smith (Springfield: Nichols, 1922-24), Vol. 5, p. 3819.

needed—for example, Herbert Hoover, Bernard Baruch, George Marshall, and many others at slightly lower age levels. During the same period, in a national list of top business executives, 28.6 per cent were past 65.

THE SPEED-UP IN "THIS CHANGING WORLD"

But there is another side to the picture. As it becomes a statistical fact that people are living longer, it becomes an equally important statistical fact that the proportions of old to young are changing rapidly. Census figures show that whereas today we have only 13 million adolescents, we have more than 18 million Americans who are 60 or over. More than 12 million of these are at least 65. Less than a century ago seven-eighths of our population was under 45. We were indeed a young country! In those early societies in which the elders were so important their numbers were relatively small. The same was true of our country when the Constitution was written. It is sometimes hard to remember that in setting the minimum age of the President at 35, the writers of the Constitution were providing that the chief executive be chosen from the elder citizens of that day. That the first President was 57 is further evidence of recognition of the need for the kind of wisdom that comes with years.

The figures quoted from the Seventy-ninth Congress seem to indicate that as our age level has advanced, the age of our governing bodies has kept pace. But these elder statesmen generally have been participating in public affairs for many years. Few of them reach the age of retirement and then suddenly assume civic responsibilities. Of course, exceptions can be found. But in general, citizenship is something that needs to be practiced during one's earlier years

if one's contribution during later life is really to count.

Together with shift in proportions of young to aged, there is another important consideration. This shift in age groups in the population comes at a time when change has been speeded up to a point that makes it difficult for even the most alert to keep up. Up until *day-before-yesterday*, figuratively speaking, in the long stream of recorded history, social change was relatively slow. Knowledge of the heritage and keeping things steady were, in general, enough, as far as rulers and educators were concerned. The elders had the relatively simple task of giving to the oncoming generation understanding of the tools and accumulated knowledge of the past.

Yesterday, however, in this long period of development of mankind, technological progress speeded up. And *today* the acceleration continues at an even more rapid rate. Changes in methods and speed of travel and communication, changes in ways of working in a mechanical world, realization of the fact that the world has shrunk so that we are now part of a complex society whether we want to be or not—all the changes in our ways of doing and thinking implicit in the results of technological change, the facts of life in the world of today, present an unprecedented challenge to those who are charged with planning and policy making at the several governmental levels.

The rapidly changing world calls likewise for changes and readiness for continuous change on the part of the established and hard-to-change institutions of our society. Education, for example, must now equip individuals for control of living in a world in which change is the only constant. It can no longer rely on teaching solutions to problems. The solutions of yesterday can no longer be relied on to meet the

problems of today and tomorrow as they could in the more simple societies of long ago, in which the institution of education has its roots.

Religion faces similar problems. It must help individuals prepare for the complexities of living rather than (or as well as) prepare them for dying. During the increasing perplexities of recent years churches have tended to accept the latter, and infinitely easier, role. Harry Overstreet points out that religion does ill

if it clings to old interpretations of human life simply because it has built these into revered institutions and practices. Where a thing as complex and inadequately known as our own nature is being dealt with, there is need for a constant alertness to new discoveries and implications.⁵

To this we would add the need for a constant alertness to the increasing complexities of society as it relates to a "thing as complex as our own nature."

AGE AND ADAPTIVENESS

Accepting the fact of the acceleration of change and the need for individuals and institutions not only to accept but, even more important, to become able to guide change in desirable direction, we must give serious thought to the implications of the increasing proportion of age to youth in our society. As George Lawton points out, it is a "normal tendency of all of us to grow somewhat more rigid and hostile to change and new ideas as we get older."⁶ We are therefore faced with the dilemma of having to accept and guide change at a greatly accelerated rate when inevitably, by sheer force of numbers, the older portion of our population will be able to determine policy and program.

⁵ H. A. Overstreet, *The Mature Mind* (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1949), p. 265.

⁶ George Lawton, *Aging Successfully* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), p. 261.

Evidences of this control by the elders are already discernible in the rural communities of the South. These communities have continuously, over a period of years, lost their young adults of the productive years to industrialized areas. Frequently the children remain in the rural community with their grandparents or other kin because of crowded and unhealthy living conditions in the city to which their parents have gone. (This is particularly true of the Negro population when parents go off to jobs in Baltimore, Washington, Akron, or other congested cities where housing is a serious problem.)

In such rural areas, one cannot presuppose even the average imbalance of of age groups. It is greatly exaggerated. The great proportion of the population is at the extreme ends of the age range. This of necessity means that the governing bodies, the welfare boards, the boards of education, the planning groups in these rural communities are made up of older citizens. Many of them are looking towards and clinging to the past. Their tendency to do this is easily understandable. In the past they feel secure. The swirling present and the uncharted future are terrifying to persons whose lives—and, more important, whose timing—are geared to horse and buggy days.

ASCENDANCY OF THE ELDERS

In one very prosperous county where men in their 70's and 80's hold the balance of power on the board of supervisors, the children go to the same school buildings that these old men went to sixty years ago. These men disregard the increased school population—especially in the high schools—due to higher age limit for leaving school and to more strictly enforced compulsory attendance. They disregard the need for laboratories in an age of science. They disregard everything but the importance

of keeping taxes down. They have formed a "Taxpayers League" of men all of whom are their contemporaries. One of these remarked in a public meeting: "I went to that school and I went on my own two feet. And I done pretty well in life, didn't I?" As far as economic success is concerned, his question must be answered in the affirmative. But has he done well in keeping informed as a citizen and keeping his mind alert to changing needs in a changing world and in a community whose children, as adults, will have to compete with children educated in more farseeing communities?

In almost any community, especially the smaller ones, there are people who deplore the lack of interest of youth in the church. At the same time the churches tend more and more to have programs planned by the elders for the elders. (The very use of the term "elders" for their policy-making bodies in some Protestant churches is in itself indicative of a deeply ingrained attitude.) A minister in a rural community—himself over 60—suddenly realized that "we keep telling the young people not to dance, not to go to unwholesome roadhouses and juke joints. We surround them with prohibitions. But have we people of this church ever helped them find something to do?" He was not "too old to change his ways." He, with the help of others who saw his point of view, launched a fine community recreation program that served the needs of all ages. To be aging is not necessarily to become inflexible. But we must admit that the tendency for all of us is to become more resistant to new ways of doing.

In another church situation—this one in a small city—two elderly and deeply religious parishioners protested to the minister about his sermons. They were too lively, had too many examples drawn from present-day life, contained

too little church doctrine. He was sympathetic and assured them he wanted to meet the needs of all members, but it was a matter of very special concern with him to keep the young people in the church. His sermons were geared to their needs. These two elderly people now hold their Sunday service together in their own living room.

NOT A NEW PROBLEM

It is interesting to note that this problem of conservatism of the elders is not new. It was felt even in ancient societies where they were accepted as the teachers and the rulers.

Even in the Spartan society, referred to above, the people who accepted the rule of the gerontes were forced to set up another body as a kind of system of "checks and balances." This consisted of three younger and more able men called "ephors." As a matter of fact, they were appointed by the kings on the strength of their abilities and not for their venerabilities. The point for us to remember is that even as early as 1000 B.C. the problem of the power of the aging was in evidence. Even then it was recognized that the contribution of the individual to society depended upon his "personal balance and social wisdom," rather than the incidence of his longevity. Neither youth nor age in itself is a guarantee of such balance and wisdom.

THE POSSIBILITY OF CONFLICT

We have admitted that we can point to "councils of elders," at both national and community levels, who are carrying a heavy share of their civic responsibility. We recognize the fact that most "boards" in every community have a large proportion of gray-headed and bald-headed members. Some of us find that in many communities it is the young adults who have no voice in pub-

lic affairs. It is still necessary to contend for their right to have a part in planning activities instead of having their affairs planned for them by their elders. Why, then, are we concerned about elder citizens feeling bereft of responsibilities in their communities? Why have we said there is need for serious stocktaking by each community?

✓ We are concerned because of the increasing number of elders. Those to whom we have referred are not new participants in public affairs. They have "been in there" working for years—and often their fathers and mothers before them.

What then do we need to do?

1. We need to understand the total community and analyze the potentials of the total population in terms of community service. Any attempt to set apart any segment of the population as a special group is dangerous. In the September 1941 issue of *Platform* a statement appears that may be startling to those who believe the no-longer-young are "on the shelf." We quote the statement in part:

Don't think the more healthy and active of America's older people are patiently waiting for the rest of us to decide their fate. . . . On the contrary . . . it may be they who decide ours. Robert Havighurst, professor of education at the University of Chicago, predicts that by 1980 the balance of power in any election will be held by those over sixty. The Townsend and newer, similar movements . . . indicate what this may mean in the life of the country if the rapidly growing number of oldsters are forced to band together as a "special interest" group. Couldn't age *vs.* youth, "retired" people *vs.* workers, become as real a conflict as capital *vs.* labor? ⁷

We concede the possibility. We refuse to concede the necessity, or even the probability, of such a conflict. But,

⁷ "Has Old Age a Place in a Young Man's World?" *Platform*, September 1941, p. 7.

in spite of our optimism, we know that careful planning and intelligent action by all concerned are essential to ensure against such an eventuality.

POPULATION FACTS AND IMPLICATIONS

2. We need to help every community accept the population-trend facts and see their implications in terms of rethinking community life. By community we mean not only private citizens, community councils, social service agencies, and recreation departments. The community involves all these. But it also involves industry, business, educational institutions, churches, government, planning boards, and every agency or institution concerned with total community prosperity and general welfare.

Many older people have been able to do their own thinking and planning in terms of their community contributions. A retired lawyer gives his time and attention to persons needing legal aid but unable to pay for it. A retired doctor, disturbed by the needs of the medically indigent in his rural community, decides to open his office and let it be known that money is not a primary consideration with him; he needs to serve. A group of retired Quakers have made themselves part of a rural community in Florida where they are fostering a remarkable, if not unique, program of sharecropper education. Their aim is to help raise the total social and economic level of that area. Each member of this group is past retirement age, has financial security, and can devote his years of wisdom to a socially useful community program.

Among the professional group with assured income countless examples could be cited of conscious planning for social usefulness during the years of leisure. And some individuals can be found in nonprofessional groups who have worked out a way of sharing com-

munity responsibility. There is the elderly housewife in a small suburban community, self-sufficient in her own small home, who has become a self-appointed information center. Anyone who needs a maid or a baby sitter or information about where and how to register to vote in this district calls her. She is in no sense a gossip, but she makes it her business to *know*. Everyone else in the community is so busy, she explains, that the least she can do is to try to use her time to save theirs. She also volunteers her services for various fund-raising drives. Her families must be within walking distance, for she has no car. But she is a fine walker!

There is the elderly man in another small community who is concerned about the small proportion of persons eligible to vote who ever go to the polls. Many give as their excuse that they do not know enough about the issues and do not have time to find out. What better use, he asks, could he make of his new-found leisure than to become well informed on the way government works and to study the issues and the qualifications of candidates for public office? This would make him a more intelligent voter, and he might be able to share what he learned with those who "don't have time."

There is a retired farmer in a small western town made up primarily of retired farmers. He has prepared for retirement and is enjoying it. But he is made miserable by seeing the unhappiness of his neighbors who have achieved their life's goal—retirement—but who have retired *from*, with nothing to retire *to*. What can be done for them? he asks. Or are they now hopeless, and would it be better to concentrate on helping the young folks get ready for retirement? He is now working at both—"and have never had so little time for my hobbies in my life!"

Cases of this kind prove that talents

of the elder citizens can be used in important community service. The fact that it is a small minority who can work out their own salvation indicates the need for accepting the facts of the increasing aging group and rethinking community life with their contributions in mind.

CONTINUOUS EDUCATION—CRADLE TO GRAVE

3. We need—and perhaps this is what we need most of all—a plan for continuous education from the cradle to the grave. In a rapidly changing world with a rapidly aging population, elementary, secondary, and higher education are not enough. The fine courses on and for aging that are being given at such institutions as the University of Michigan and the University of Chicago are not enough. They are exceedingly important for those who have grown into mature years without the kind of preparation that continuous education could provide. But only a few can avail themselves of the opportunity offered by such courses. Those who have the initiative and the funds to go to a distant university to learn how to make the most of the mature years are undoubtedly those who have already done some thinking and planning. Again our concern is with the increasing number who need the help of total community planning for all age groups and by all age groups. Each community must assume responsibility for the program of continuous education if it is to be available to everyone.

Another advantage of the community education program is that it could help the individual to relate himself continuously to the community to which he may devote much of the leisure of his later years. It would, of course, provide help in self-understanding in each age group, but would also provide help in relation to other age groups and

to the community as a whole. Again we underline the importance of wholeness. Every community has babies, children, adolescents, young adults, adults in their middle years, and elder citizens. But these groups are not mutually exclusive, nor are there clear-cut lines of demarcation.

A program of "education for aging" tends to set this group apart as a problem group. A problem group, like a problem child, is all too likely to capitalize on the fact of being a problem. And the community is the loser. On the other hand, lifelong learning can help to keep limber the mind that tends to become inflexible with age. And the community is the gainer.

Moreover, the aging are in no more need of help in self-understanding and in understanding relationships than are adolescents; or young adults who are eagerly assuming adult privileges but rebelling against adult responsibilities; or the no-longer-young but not-yet-old who feel that because they are no longer young life is sterile. There seems to be no doubt that there is real need for continuous education if we are going to live with the kind of people and in the kind of communities that are really good to live with and in.

The adult education program has given some attention to problems of

aging. George Lawton's course on "Aging Successfully" has been outstanding and, without doubt, has been most helpful to those it has reached. But adult education has always been spotty. There has been little unified planning for a program that would serve the whole man in his total environment. Lyman Bryson explains this by saying that in America adult education has always been meeting the urgent need rather than finding and meeting the important need. By "urgent" he means immigrant education, emergency-education programs of depression years, education for civilian defense and other wartime needs. What might be considered the important function of adult education? May it not be that in helping citizens to find ways of sharing community responsibilities at all ages on local, state, national, and world levels the urgent and the important have become one? Might it not be in this way that we could move most effectively toward "organizing the world for peace and collaboration," which Dr. Bryson considers the important role of adult education?⁸

⁸ Lyman Bryson, *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States*, edited by Mary L. Ely (New York: Institute of Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1948), p. 3.

*Jean and Jess Ogden, Charlottesville, Virginia, are codirectors of the University of Virginia's Community Services. They are a husband-and-wife team, and their community development programs have grown out of an experimental and exploratory project set up in 1941 to find ways of helping communities help themselves. They are responsible for 125 studies of communities in the Southeast, published as the New Dominion Series. Previous to 1941 they made similar studies for the American Association of Adult Education. Mr. Ogden served as educational director at Hull House, and Mrs. Ogden as director of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry. Both have written numerous pamphlets and magazine articles, and together they have written four books, the last two of which are *Small Communities in Action* (1946) and *These Things We Tried* (1947).*

Family Living in the Later Decades

By ERNEST W. BURGESS

ONLY recently has attention centered on the family life of the aging. Other aspects of changes with aging have been studied: physiological, psychological, economic, and social. But research on the status and problem of family living has been conspicuous by its absence.

Three recent events have called attention to the needs for research and to the importance of family living to persons in the later decades. In outlining the fields of study in his research planning report for the Social Science Research Council, Otto Pollak devoted a chapter to "The Family."¹ The First National Conference on Family Life held in Washington in 1948 called attention to family living in old age as the last stage of the family cycle. Finally, the First National Conference on Aging, held in Washington in 1950, included the subject of family living, living arrangements, and housing as one of its ten major divisions.

As yet, however, no systematic study of the social psychological aspects of family living in the later decades has been attempted. Within the last year two doctoral dissertations have made significant contributions to an understanding of the family relations of older persons, although not focused on this topic. They are *Isolation and Conduct in Later Life: A Study of Four Hundred Sixty-four Chicagoans of Ages Sixty to Ninety-five* by William H. Harlan² and *The Social Roles of Old People* by Ruth Albrecht.³

¹ Otto Pollak, *Social Adjustment in Old Age*, Social Science Research Council Bulletin 29 (New York, 1948), Ch. 6.

² William H. Harlan, *Isolation and Conduct*

The findings of these two studies especially will be relied upon in discussing the majority of the following topics: basic facts relevant to family living, the last stage of the family cycle, the married couple in old age, living with in-laws, the widowed, and further research.

FACTS ABOUT FAMILY LIVING

There are a number of facts significant for understanding the family living of the aging that must be presented first. These are selected from three different sources.⁴

1. The proportion of older people is increasing. There are twice as many people in the United States today as in 1900, but nearly four times the number of persons 65 years and over.

2. The rural population is declining. Fifty years ago 60 per cent of the population was rural; at present only 41 per cent is. Of the rural population, those living on farms declined from 30 per cent in 1920 to an estimated 19 per cent in 1949.

3. The marital status of the popula-

in *Later Life: A Study of Four Hundred Sixty-four Chicagoans of Ages Sixty to Ninety-five*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1950.

³ Ruth Albrecht, *The Social Roles of Old People*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1951.

⁴ National Conference on Aging, Washington, D. C., 1950, *Some Facts About Aging Population*, Washington: Federal Security Agency, 1950; *ibid.*, *Man and His Years*, Raleigh: Health Publications Institute, 1951; and Ruth Shonle Cavan, Ernest W. Burgess, Robert J. Havighurst, and Herbert Goldhamer, *Personal Adjustment in Old Age*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949.

tion aged 65 and over is as follows: 66 per cent of the men are married, as compared with 37 per cent of the women; 54 per cent of the women are widowed, as compared with only 24 per cent of the men; the proportion that have remained single is the same for both sexes—8 per cent; 2 men and 1 woman per 100 of each sex are divorced.

4. The great majority of persons 65 years and over are living in families: 82 per cent of the men and 76 per cent of the women. Thirteen per cent of the males and 22 per cent of the females are living alone or with nonrelatives. Only 6 per cent of the men and 3 per cent of the women are living in institutions.

5. Low income is common among the aged. Nearly all persons receiving wages or salaries experience a sharp drop in their income at 60 or 65, which at present are the favored years for retirement. About one-fourth are receiving public assistance. The income distribution of older persons and the sources of income are given in detail in the article by Wilbur Cohen in this volume. The big drop in income of persons after age 65 is shown by the fact that their median income was only about \$1,000 in 1948, compared with around \$3,000 for men in the age group 35 to 44 and approximately \$2,400 for men of 55 to 64.

6. There is a decline of older men and an increase of older women in the labor force. The proportion of men 65 years of age and over who continue to work dropped from 68 per cent in 1890 to an estimated 45 per cent in 1950 while employment among older women increased from 5.7 per cent to 8.7 per cent. The changes and present situation are discussed in the article by Gertrude Bancroft in this volume.

7. There has been little increase in the life expectation of older persons. In fifty years the average life span has

increased from less than 50 to more than 67 years in 1948. At the age of 65, however, the increase of life expectancy is only from 11.9 to 13.4 years. While more people live longer, those who have arrived at age 65 do not live much longer than they did a half-century ago.

8. Older persons average less schooling than those younger. Each age group in our society has had on the average more formal education than the next older group.

9. The amount of close companionship decreases with age. This is caused not only by the death of spouses but by the loss of intimate friends by death, change of residence, or other reasons.

10. Participation by older men and women decreases. This is shown by attendance at meetings, offices held, number of hobbies, and plans for the future.

11. There is an increased feeling of economic security in spite of lowered amount of income. The greatest economic insecurity seems to be in the 60's when the adjustment to loss of employment is necessary. In each succeeding decade the economic condition of the person becomes further stabilized.

12. Physical handicaps increase with age. Illness and nervousness are more frequent, and the feeling of satisfaction and health decreases.

13. Older citizens increase their religious activities and dependence upon religion. Frequency of church attendance drops in the 80's and 90's. Incapacity to go to church, however, is more than compensated for by listening to church services over the radio and by Bible reading.

14. Feelings of happiness, usefulness, zest tend to decrease with age, and lack of interest in life grows correspondingly.

15. Psychological tests show a lower median attitude score, indicating poorer adjustment. Attitude scores are repre-

TABLE 1—MARITAL STATUS

Median Age of Husband and Wife at Each Stage of the Family Cycle
for the United States: 1940 and 1890

Stage of the family cycle	Median age of husband		Median age of wife	
	1940	1890	1940	1890
A. First marriage	24.3	26.1	21.6	22.0
B. Birth of first child	25.3	27.1	22.6	23.0
C. Birth of last child	29.9	36.0	27.2	31.9
D. Marriage of first child	48.3	51.1	45.6	47.0
E. Marriage of last child	52.8	59.4	50.1	55.3
F. Death of husband or wife	63.6	57.4	60.9	53.3
G. { Death of husband, if last	69.7	66.4	—	—
{ Death of wife, if last	—	—	73.5	67.7

Source: Paul C. Glick, "The Family Cycle," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XII, No. 2, April 1947.

sentative of the way older people react to their experiences in the major areas of their life such as work, family, friends, recreation, leisure, and religion. They include also the subject's statements of attitudes on health, economic security, zest for life, and happiness.

THE FAMILY CYCLE

The above statement of facts relevant to the family living of older adults presents a static picture. In actuality a longitudinal point of view is necessary for perspective and for the understanding of the problems of the aging.

Paul C. Glick, in an article on the family cycle, has indicated seven stages in the married life of individuals. The first four stages occur in youth and middle adulthood, the last three in the decades of the 50's, 60's, and 70's as determined by the median age of husband and wife. These stages are shown in Table 1.

The family cycle demonstrates that middle-aged and elderly people pass through different experiences. Therefore they may be listed variously at different times as (1) parents living with single children, (2) parents living with married children, (3) parents living

alone, (4) widow or widower living away from children, and (5) remarried aging persons.

One phase of the family cycle is change of residence. While there is no universal pattern, two variations may be hypothetically presented to indicate the series of residences in the life experience of older persons.

One urban pattern for middle-class persons presents the following residential cycle: (1) birth and rearing on the farm, in town, or in a small city; (2) attendance away from home at college or university, often in dormitories or rooming houses of a town or small city; (3) marriage before or shortly after graduation and living in furnished rooms or small apartment; (4) birth of first or second children and removal to a small single dwelling in the suburbs; (5) with growing family, purchase on time of larger residence in the suburbs; (6) after departure of children from the home and on retirement of husband, return of couple to city and rent of a small apartment; (7) after death of spouse removal of surviving member to hotel, furnished room, or kitchenette apartment.

Variations of the last two stages are

moving to California or Florida to a small home and later to a small apartment or rooming house. Two other variations are having married children move in with parents, or taking up residence in the home of a married son or daughter.

Other patterns of residential change will occur to the reader. For example, when farmers retire they typically move into a smaller home in the nearby small town. Patterns of the residential cycle vary considerably with social class, ethnic group, and marital status of the older persons. Studies of certain trends in the mobility of older persons in a town of 6,000 persons are now being completed by Marian McLaughlin.

THE MARRIED COUPLE IN OLD AGE

Of the population aged 65 and over, 35 per cent of the men and 18 per cent of the women constitute married couples living in their own homes apart from their children and other relatives. The great majority of these are first marriages, but they also include some remarriages of widowed or divorced persons.

Couples in this over-65 group comprise a high proportion who have been married for a long time and have been happily married. Most of them have celebrated silver weddings; some have had their golden wedding anniversaries. Husbands and wives have shared joys and sorrows. They have weathered crises. Their lives have become more or less closely intertwined. Now they are often living, perhaps more than ever before, in the lives and activities of their children.

The following personal document gives a picture of a successful married couple in Prairie City.

Mr. Royce is 68 and his wife is 62, but both look younger. Their four children, now married, live within a radius of 200 miles from the parental home. They are

financially independent of their parents, have their own friends, and handle their own problems, but seem to enjoy visiting their parents and try to space their visits so one or two families visit every weekend. . . .

While the children were growing up the Royce family lived in a large eight-room house. . . . They attended school with other children of this upper-lower class neighborhood and had room to play and entertain their friends at home. When they finished school the boys went to work or joined the armed forces. There is no evidence that the break from home was overly difficult for either parent or the children.

Mr. and Mrs. Royce sold the large house when the children left home and moved into the five-room cottage next door. It is more modern and comfortable, but Mrs. Royce says, "Sometimes we wish we still lived in the big house so all of the children and their families could visit us at the same time. The old house seemed so empty with all the children gone. Now they are all married and there are two in each family, and in one the family is four, so we don't have room for all of them at one time. . . ."

The Royces look forward to the children's visits. . . . Mrs. Royce keeps the guest bedroom ready at all times and has the baby beds set up for the grandchildren. They are proud of these grandchildren, have their pictures framed and prominently displayed.⁵

Unhappy marriages in old age have not often been depicted in sociological studies. Waller, however, gives an account of an incompatible couple. He traces the process of alienation to its culmination in old age.

Conflict was constant and unremitting from morning until night, from one week's end to the next; no intervals of peace relieved the tension [except] when one of the children was seriously ill. . . .

The initiative of these quarrels was almost wholly with the wife. . . . The refusal of sex relations was one of her most potent weapons, and she inflicted a terrible price

⁵ See note 3 *supra*, pp. 84-85.

upon her husband for any yielding. She nagged constantly, complaining about every possible point. At about the twelfth year of marriage, she developed a new technique, that of constant whining, and for a time her husband objected strenuously to this, but soon it, too, was a part of the folkways of the marriage. She was an adept at dry, sarcastic humor; her genial wit and humor made her highly popular outside her family, but when her jokes were directed at her husband they always had a sharp edge.

... Throughout the long middle period of their marriage this pair continued to live together in the manner described. . . . They made no effort to get along; . . . The adjustment of the pair was conflict; conflict in its most inclusive and destructive forms. Every quarrel left each member of the pair partly satisfied, but with new injuries to redress and therefore ready to take up arms again. The pattern of association was not one of distance, but one of extraordinary neurotic closeness. Both suffered from these quarrels, but they also took pleasure in them. In between times they prepared their statements, and when they managed to get off a telling shot, the triumphant expression on their faces and the gloating tone of voice demonstrated their glee over their success. . . .

When this marriage reached the period of devolution, it slowly but steadily improved, although within very definite limits. . . . The two never departed from their quarreling pattern. The wife never ceased to fuss and whine and complain; the husband never ceased to be emotionally bound up in his conflict relation with her.⁶

RELATIVES

In Prairie City ties of kinship appear to be less strong than in rural communities. Albrecht reports that only thirty-seven of the group of one hundred persons who answered the questionnaire claim one or more of the following:

⁶ Willard Waller, *The Family: A Dynamic Interpretation* (New York: Cordon Co., 1938), pp. 369-70 and 376-77.

frequent social contact with relatives, close family feeling, assistance during illness. Of the remainder, fifty have little or some contact, ten have little or no interest or contact, and three have no living relatives. The actual nature of association with relatives is shown by the following excerpts from two contrasting statements by people in their later years:

We have all our relatives in this town or near enough to visit. We have our car and go to visit them often. They come to see us all of the time and there were six different visitors here yesterday. I came back . . . here because my brother is here and when my husband died I came back to the town where I grew up. I have lovely nieces and nephews, their pictures are on the table, and I hear from them often and get a chance to visit them once in a while. Our brothers and sisters are scattered all around here and we see them often. I like to make pies and make a lot of them for cousins. I have a brother in Denver and see him ever so often. . . . We always kept up with our families and like to visit them. Since we have no children of our own, we like to be with nieces and nephews. On vacation we visit around with relatives.⁷

... My brother is here but his wife is sick and we don't see each other often. . . . I try to get to my sister's home about once in three months and then I see other relatives but usually I am too busy for any visiting.⁸

IN-LAWS

Among many primitive, ancient, and present-day Oriental societies, the newlyweds take up their residence in the home of the parents of either the bride or the bridegroom. When this occurs, the young husband generally works for his father or father-in-law, and the young wife carries on household duties

⁷ See note 3 *supra*, p. 131.

⁸ See note 3 *supra*, p. 132.

under the direction of her mother or mother-in-law. The authority and power are clearly in the hands of the aging parents. Old age is honored and respected not only in the community but also in the extended kinship groups by the children and the grandchildren.

Under these conditions, conflicts and antagonisms no doubt exist, as indicated by life histories and personal documents. In general, however, manifestations of these attitudes are repressed and controlled. Traditions, ceremony, and ritual regulate relationships, and the younger generation fits into the expected roles. Even with retirement from active physical labor of the aging parents, provision is made for their maintenance, and their position is secure.

In our own society, the norm is for the newly married couple to establish a home of their own. Nevertheless, through economic necessity, shortage of housing, or sense of responsibility, many older persons are living with their children, married or single. Statistics indicate that 32 per cent of all older men and 17 per cent of all older women are living with both their spouses and other relatives. These other relatives are not broken down in census reports, but undoubtedly include a considerable percentage of married couples. Among older persons who are not married (largely widowed, but also including the single and the divorced), 14 per cent of the men and 41 per cent of the women are living with relatives, the majority of whom undoubtedly are their own married and unmarried children.

The discussion of the relation of in-laws to their children will be taken up under three headings: (1) aging parents living with children; (2) aging parents residing apart from their children but maintaining satisfying relations with them; (3) aging parents living apart from children but in conflict with them.

Case studies of young married couples made by Burgess and Wallin⁹ indicate conditions which make for satisfying or frustrating relations between aging parents and their married or unmarried children. These data are the basis of the discussion which follows.

Living with children

This situation may be a matter of choice or of necessity. Where both parents and children elect to live together, the arrangement may work out more or less satisfactorily. Where the wife is working, the mother-in-law often takes on the major charge of the household responsibilities. She may be very happy to function as a baby sitter when the young couple take a night off. Although there may be some disagreements these tend to be minor, and both generations report the relationship as satisfying.

Often, however, especially where the arrangement is one of necessity, difficulties arise. During the present housing shortage, many young couples have had to move in with either the husband's or the wife's parents. In these situations the wife generally gets on better with her mother than with her mother-in-law. Often the relationship may be satisfying to the aging parents, although a difficult one for the children. Sometimes the situation would be satisfactory except for the attitude of the young husband or wife.

Living apart from children but having satisfying relations

At the present time, the most satisfactory situation from the standpoint both of aging parents and of the married children is where the two generations have separate residences but maintain satisfying relations.

⁹ Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage*, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., in press for 1952 publication.

Mr. and Mrs. Brown have been a happy couple, independent of their children but with a close social relationship.

Mrs. Brown: I have four children, 19 grandchildren and 13 great-grandchildren. I see them often. They come in here a lot and sometimes bring the little ones for the day.

Mr. Brown: The grandchildren and their families come here and visit once or twice a week. It depends on whether I am working. We go with our children on long trips for vacations and one of our children always comes in and takes us to church.¹⁰

The following case study illustrates a new type of attitude on the part of aging parents:

What do I think of children continuing to live with their parents after they are married? It is a fine idea and I am for it for everybody except myself. I have a twelve room house with two screened porches on a forty acre farm and I am always glad when my married son and his wife and children and my married daughter and her husband and children come for a visit. My wife and I are delighted to see them and the grandchildren, but after they have stayed two or three days, what a relief for both of us when they and the children all depart!¹¹

In her study, *The Social Roles in Old Age*, Ruth Albrecht concludes:

These old people are representative of other parents in roles they take and in their attitudes toward their children. Some parents like to be independent and want their children to allow them to remain so. Others appreciate the attention and care their children and other descendants offer unless they try to take too much responsibility away from them. Parents who have a good relationship to their children do not dwell on their own early lives but are happy in the present time.

Parents who are mutually independent of their children show the following characteristics:

1. They can accept or give favors or suggestions without feeling threatened. A

¹⁰ See note 9 *supra*.

¹¹ See note 3 *supra*, p. 86.

basic security in loving and feeling loved removes the threat that could be present for either parent or adult-child.

2. They enjoy working or playing with the second generation.

3. They are proud of their children, like them and have not grown too far apart in interests and mode of life.

4. They accept in-laws as members of the family. Since they have interests outside of the family they are not threatened by the spouse of any second generation member.¹²

Living apart from children but in conflict

Not infrequently aging parents and their children are in conflict with each other. Typically, the antagonism tends to be between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law or son-in-law. The aging father or father-in-law seems to get on better with his son-in-law and daughter-in-law than does his spouse. Often there are differences in culture, particularly in religion, that make for chronic conflict. Where the aged parent or parents are dependent and do not live with the couple, the burden of financial support, although assumed by the son, may cause financial stress and even emotional difficulties on one or both sides.

More research is needed on the types of relation between aging parents and their children and the conditions under which they are emotionally satisfying or disturbing. Particularly significant is the hypothesis that the mutually satisfying relations are much more likely to be maintained where living with or away from parents is a matter of choice and not of necessity both for the elderly and for the younger couple.

THE WIDOWED

Widows and widowers constitute a high proportion of persons 65 and over (54 per cent and 24 per cent respec-

¹² See note 3 *supra*, pp. 91-92.

tively). They are persons who have experienced family life and are now deprived of it.

The higher proportion of widows as compared to widowers can be explained in three ways. First, the expectation of life is higher for women than for men. Second, brides on the average are younger than bridegrooms. Third, widowers who remarry select women on the average much younger than themselves.

The death of a husband or wife is a crisis forcing the person to make decisions important for family living. This crisis experience and its aftermath will be considered in two aspects: (1) bereavement, and (2) reasons for not remarrying. Interviews secured by William H. Harlan in his unpublished study *Isolation and Conduct in Later Life* provide the data for the following discussion.

The death of a spouse after a marriage of forty or more years does not terminate the association. The departed one, especially at first, may be recalled with a vividness that simulates actual presence. An eighty-year-old widower reports this experience, as well as the shock of his wife's sudden passing.

My wife died . . . sudden; got to feeling bad one night, so I called the doctor and he sent her to the hospital. The next night she died. I was lost for a time afterward; felt like it was the end of the world. For a while I went on thinking she was still there. I could imagine what she would be doing at a certain time, or what she would have said to something. Well, that went on for quite a while, but in the last few years I haven't thought about it so much. I guess in a few years more I won't remember it at all.¹³

Another widower married for twenty-five years when his wife died attempts to preserve his house as he thinks his wife would wish.

¹³ See note 2 *supra*, p. 217.

I've tried to keep everything just as it was when she was alive. I've kept it just as I thought she would like it. I've always taken a great deal of pleasure in caring for the lawn and garden. Some men take up golf; my house has always been my recreation.¹⁴

Reactions of widows to the deaths of their husbands are similar to those quoted from widowers. There is the disposition to reconstruct in memory and imagination the illusion of the departed.

Harlan summarizes the reasons widowers give for not remarrying, as

a feeling that life purposes had been achieved in first marriage; feeling that remarriage would signify disloyalty to memory of wife or to her family group (and perhaps to children); and, an idealization of the first marriage. . . . Others quite obviously were not touched upon, such as necessity to support an invalid relative, devotion to career, unattractiveness, chronic illness and so forth.¹⁵

Many of these reasons apply equally well to widows who do not remarry.

PROBLEMS A CHALLENGE FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The materials presented indicate that aging in the later decades presents its particular problems of family living. Instead of their children being dependent economically and emotionally upon them, parents in old age often find they are dependent upon children for financial and emotional support. There arise new problems of relationships with their married children complicated by the attitudes and behavior of sons-in-law and daughters-in-law. These difficulties may be chronically disturbing if they are sharing the same living quarters, especially when this housing arrangement is a matter of necessity rather than of choice.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

There are those deprived of family living—the widowed, the single, the separated, and the divorced. The problem of loneliness seems particularly prevalent and poignant among them, although some have made more or less satisfactory adjustments.

The many different patterns of family living among older persons and the various types of problems they encounter constitute a challenge for further research.

A quite complete outline for further research in the family relations of older persons is presented in Chapter 6 of Pollak's *Social Adjustment in Old Age*.¹⁶ Therefore only a few significant projects will be mentioned here.

1. Studies are desirable of the various patterns of family living of the aging by urban or rural residence, by region, by ethnic and occupational group, and by social-class.

2. Particularly interesting studies could be made of patterns of family living according to the nature and degree of dominance exerted by the aging father over his wife and over his children, whether or not they are residing with him.

3. A significant study could compare the factors making for and against satis-

fying relations of the aging parent or parents with the children and grandchildren. Among those to be considered are temperamental and emotional compatibility or incompatibility, attitude toward marriage of children, acceptance or rejection of reciprocal roles, common or diverse interests, and adaptability or unadaptability.

4. A public opinion poll might provide interesting data on the approved patterns of family living for aging persons classified by the age of respondent, by region, by ethnic and occupational group, and by social class.

5. A valuable study could be made of couples who have celebrated golden wedding anniversaries to discover the factors associated with the happy and with the unhappy unions.

6. The quasi family of older non-related persons is important for study, particularly from the standpoint of conditions and arrangements making for its successful or unsuccessful operation.

7. A study is feasible of the factors determining whether a widowed person does or does not remarry or does or does not wish to remarry.

8. Demonstration or experimental projects on preparation of the aging for retirement should include a section on planning for family living.

Ernest W. Burgess, Ph.D., Chicago, Illinois, is professor of sociology at the University of Chicago. He is active in many sociological organizations and projects and has been president of the National Conference on Family Relations, of the American Sociological Society, and of the Sociological Research Association, and chairman of the Social Science Research Council. He was editor of Marriage and Family Living and of the American Journal of Sociology. He is co-editor and co-author of numerous works in his field, of which the latest are Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage (1939), The Family (1945), and Successful Marriage (1947).

¹⁶ See note 1 *supra*.

Education's Role in Maintaining the Individual's Status

By WILMA T. DONAHUE

AGING is a process of change, and can be fully understood only when it is viewed in the perspective of a continuous life flow from conception to death. The differentiation and maturation of cellular material and its involution and senescence constitute the continuously changing biological substructure of the aging organism. Each change in function is conditioned by concomitant or preceding biological circumstances and by environmental stress to which the aging individual is exposed. The concept of the individual as a functional but changing whole moving through a dynamic life space has been accepted in the study and treatment of children; it has not yet been fully comprehended as including the total life span.

The period of later maturity has been traditionally regarded as static, as a time when the individual's development has been halted and his potentialities dissipated by the blight of age, during which he can only await his ultimate dismissal from life. Fortunately, there is a growing awareness that age in itself need not impale the individual and transform his life from a state of useful participation to one of doddering retirement. Resources for personal development are lodged within the individual throughout all his years. Educators have assumed responsibility for stimulating, developing, and preparing youth for the roles of early adulthood; their responsibility for rendering a corresponding service to the older adult for his role in later life appears obvious.

FUNCTIONS OF EDUCATION FOR THE OLDER ADULT

The major function of education for older adults is to help them to continue the exploration of their potentialities, and to assist them in preserving their integration in society. To achieve such a broad objective, education must design a fourfold program. First, it must aid in the adjustment of the individual to the personal and social changes accompanying aging by providing information necessary to achieve lifelong adjustment. Second, it must promote the adjustment of society to its aging population by helping to create appropriate attitudes and by encouraging the development of opportunities for the continued use of the talents and skills of older citizens. Third, it must train personnel to serve older people by establishing courses of study, programs of field practice, and in-service training in gerontology. Finally, it must promote research for the development of a body of knowledge about aging and its implications for individual and social practice.

Although there is admittedly much to be learned, gerontologists already have sufficient information, if they were to apply it, to improve markedly the economic status, the health, and the emotional welfare of aging adults, and to assist communities in developing patterns providing for role maintenance with age. This information must be made available to the aging and their society through broad educational chan-

nels. The programs currently in progress and others which are under consideration represent important advances in this new phase of adult education. Before reporting upon these, however, it is in order to discuss some of the considerations common to all approaches of education for the older adult.

PROBLEMS AND NEEDS

Modern education for youth has attempted to identify the critical life issues and basic needs with which the developing individual must be equipped to deal. Through the regular curriculum, it has then set about to provide training and skill for making the necessary adjustments. This approach has not been extended to form the basis of adult education. As Thomas Van Sant has pointed out, "education for adults has been and to a large extent still exists as a second chance for them to pick up things they missed for good, bad or indifferent reasons when they were children, teen-agers or young adults."¹ More realistic and pertinent programs of education for all adults will result when their social, personal, and economic needs are analyzed, with these analyses used as a basis for designing programs which will help them in finding solutions and making adjustments throughout life.

Reaching the older adult

A primary problem encountered in implementing the ideal of lifelong learning is that of reaching the older adult. Those individuals who are now old have been exposed only casually to adult education. They suffer from fears generated from knowledge that they have experienced both physical

and mental change, and that they do not measure up to the academic requirements set for their children and grandchildren. They are unaccustomed to entering into group learning experiences. They are aware that public attitudes condone, if not encourage, their acceptance of passive patterns of behavior or the pursuit of happiness through purely recreational activities. As a result of these factors, they have not demanded educational opportunity, and, in far too many instances, have ceased from intellectual exploration upon graduation from the "little red schoolhouse" or its more modern counterpart.

If the few statistics available concerning the age distribution of students enrolled in regular adult education classes are typical, it is clear that present programs are not attracting many older adults. Willis Reals reports that only 4 per cent of students enrolled in the evening classes at Washington University are over 50 years of age.² In one city school, the mean age of students in the adult education program is 26 years, with only 5 per cent over 50 years of age. In classes specifically designed for but not restricted to older adults average ages are of course higher: 53 years at the University of Illinois,³ and 62 years at the University of Michigan.⁴

In recognition that, at least for the present, only a limited number of older persons are becoming involved in activities offered directly by the school, the New York State Education Depart-

¹ Thomas A. Van Sant, "Responsibility of Education to the Older Adult," in *Growing in the Older Years* (W. Donahue and C. Tibbitts, Eds., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951), p. 120.

² Willis H. Reals, "The Place of the University in the Education of the Aging," paper read at Second International Gerontological Congress, St. Louis, September 1951.

³ Robert Peterson, "University Extension Courses in Gerontology," *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 6 (1951), p. 40.

⁴ Wilma Donahue, "Age with a Future," in *Social Work in the Current Scene 1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 82.

ment now provides aid to local school systems for the implementation of programs being offered by other agencies. Under this arrangement, the educator is enabled to serve groups which are well established (such as golden-age clubs), to co-operate with industries in developing educational programs for retirement, and to assist churches, clubs, private and public community agencies, libraries, and homes for the aged in providing educational services to old people.

Learning and the older adult

Basic to a program of education for the older adult is the assumption that people can continue to learn throughout life. It has been estimated that 70 per cent of our older people are still mentally alert and active. There is good reason to believe that the way to maintain this mental alertness of the aging is through continued intellectual activity, such as educational experiences provide. That educators have been laggard in offering programs for older adults may reflect a lack of awareness of the effectiveness of learning as an antidote to psychological aging. When both educators and the aging are convinced that the adjustment of older people can be greatly improved through educational channels, it is probable that many new developments will take place.

Content

No clear-cut roles have crystallized for the adult beyond retirement age. This fact creates a problem in designing educational programs for older adults, since the starting point for planning should be the actual needs of the people served. Adult educators are loath to undertake the development of programs, preferring to wait until the ultimate role of the older individual in society and his associated problems are more clearly defined.

Although research data relative to the most appropriate content of educational programs for older adults are not yet available, we do not have the pooled judgments of the eighty members of the Education Section of the First National Conference on Aging as to the most important areas to be included. Areas recommended included education for physical and mental health, family and group membership, economic security, vocational skills, leisure-time pursuits, social and civic responsibility, and religious experience.⁵ At the Governor's Conference on the Problems of the Aging held in Sacramento, California, in October 1951, a study group recommended that education center its function around economic problems, physical and mental health, and leisure-time interests.⁶ In Homer Kempfer's study of the needs of older people, guidance services are also included in the recommended content of educational programs.⁷

It is appropriate with reference to content of educational offerings to point out the need for modification of existing curricula at the various school levels in order to provide an interpretation to all ages of the potentialities and roles of older people in contemporary life.

Techniques and materials

It is perhaps fortunate that uniformity does not exist in the techniques being employed in the various educational programs throughout the country,

⁵ National Conference on Aging, Washington, D. C., 1950, *Man and His Years* (Raleigh, N. C.: Health Publications Institute, 1951), pp. 135-36.

⁶ *Background Material for the Governor's Conference on the Problems of the Aging* (Sacramento, Calif.: Department of Social Welfare, 1951), p. 6.

⁷ Homer Kempfer, *Education for a Long and Useful Life*, Office of Education Bulletin No. 6, 1950 (Washington, D. C.: Federal Security Agency), pp. 14-29.

because we are yet at an experimental stage of development. Research has not been done on such questions as whether older people learn better in mixed age groups or in peer groups, whether smaller assignments are indicated, whether more time should be allowed for discussion, and whether the lecture technique is better suited to classes of older students than, for example, are group project techniques. Other questions which need to be probed include: What and how much visual-aids material will be of value in the instruction of people whose visual and auditory acuity is diminishing? Do special materials need to be prepared? What type of leader is best suited for instructing older people, that is, how important are age and prestige factors in speakers?

Some progress in the development of materials has been made. There are at least three documentary films—*Steps of Age*,⁸ *Life with Grandpa*,⁹ and *Date of Birth*¹⁰—which are valuable for discussion purposes. Lectures on problems of aging have been recorded by national experts and are available with instructional aids for use by educational groups, clubs, industry, and others.¹¹ A manual for a course on retirement has been prepared by the Bureau of Adult Education of the New York State Education Department.¹²

In addition to the usual classroom techniques of lecture and discussion, radio and television have been employed

to educate older people and other age groups about the potentialities of the aging.¹³

Financing education for older people

After retirement, a large proportion of people must live on drastically reduced budgets. The fear of outliving their financial reserves leads to programs of severe economy, and hence to an avoidance of such expenditures as tuition for educational courses and materials.

It has been suggested that schools should offer free services to the aged, who have contributed to the building and maintenance of schools in their communities for many years. It has also been pointed out that school buildings and facilities normally receive far less than maximum use and can therefore be made available for use by adult groups at little added cost.

Certain types of programs can be operated with state or federal aid. Vocational education, for example, could be offered as part of the federally subsidized vocational educational program in agriculture, homemaking, trade and industrial education, and business occupations. The example of New York State has already been cited, in which funds are being made available for educational programs carried out by communities and industries, and for such services as counseling and retraining of older persons. Many other states have financial aid programs which provide reimbursement for each individual enrolled in an educational course. Unfortunately, under these programs educators have sometimes preferred to emphasize numbers enrolled, failing to consider the needs of minority groups such as represented by the aging.

⁸ International Film Bureau, 6 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 2, Illinois.

⁹ Same address.

¹⁰ National Film Board of Canada, 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York 20, N. Y.

¹¹ Audio-Visual Education Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

¹² "Retirement—A Second Career" (mimeographed), Bureau of Adult Education, New York State Education Department, Albany, N. Y., 1951.

¹³ Wilma Donahue, "Experiments in the Education of Older Adults," *Adult Education*, Vol. 2, December 1951.

Who shall do the educating?

The problem of leadership in the education of the aging is complicated by the fact already observed that older adults are not usually found in large numbers in educational programs. They do constitute significant groups, however, in industry, community organizations, and churches. A national survey of educational programs has not been conducted, but casual observation would lead to the conclusion that more programs are offered under community and employment auspices than under the supervision of educational institutions. In a few instances educators have been invited to provide leadership for programs conducted under noneducational sponsorship.

Industry is not agreed as to the educator's responsibility in conducting programs for the older worker. According to one viewpoint, industry should assume entire responsibility for the education and pre-retirement conditioning of the older worker up to the point of retirement, after which the responsibility is transferred to the community. Other representatives of industry contend that educators should provide education for the aging worker either under the auspices of industry or by direct course offerings in the community. It is unlikely that educational programs which do not permit integration of industrial and community planning for the older worker will be maximally effective.

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Some of the representative programs offered by educational agencies, by community groups, and by industrial and business organizations will be reviewed in order to assess the present status of education for the aging and to deter-

mine the respects in which its fourfold functions are being served.

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

Adjustment programs

In 1949 the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging conducted a survey of 468 American colleges, from which it was concluded that "our colleges are slowly but surely beginning to set up a wide variety of courses, institutes and research studies aimed at the ultimate goal of making man's later years his golden years."¹⁴

Among those colleges offering courses directed toward the adjustment of the individual to the problems of aging are Syracuse University, the University of Illinois, the University of Chicago, and the University of Michigan. The most direct approach to individual diagnosis and counseling is to be found in an experimental course offered currently at the University of Chicago under the direction of the Committee on Human Development. The course is entitled "Making the Most of Maturity," and is designed to assist men and women between the ages of 55 and 64 in developing specific plans for their later years. In the weekly class meetings, extending over a period of approximately thirty weeks, information is being provided on gerontological problems on the basis of the needs of students, with emphasis and direction in the course content being determined by the class. Students are being aided in the formulation of individual plans for the retirement years by expert counseling in such areas as financial planning, vocational

¹⁴October 28, 1949 release from the office of State Senator Thomas C. Desmond, Chairman, New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging, Newburgh, New York.

guidance, health, and personal and family problems. A medical examination including a diagnostic psychiatric interview is an integral part of the course.¹⁵

The programs in "Living in the Later Years" offered for older people through the Extension Service of the University of Michigan are based on the assumption that the individual older person who is equipped with essential information about aging and experienced in the skills necessary for adjustment to the problems of aging will be able to solve his own problems and adjust to age changes.¹⁶ The casework approach of individualized counseling for everyone is not feasible in terms of time and personnel; nor should it be necessary. Most people at younger ages maintain their emotional equilibrium through the satisfactory execution of purposeful life tasks for which they have been trained. We consider this to be mature living. There is no reason to assume that old people have any less capacity for mature behavior.

The Michigan courses have taken difference forms, but all have been based on the achievement of adjustment by a group procedure. One course is currently underway in which the first part of a three-hour weekly period is used for instruction in the discussion of common gerontological problems and then followed by laboratory practice in social living.¹⁷ In another course, students defined some of the major problems with which they were concerned and set up projects for exploring them.

¹⁵ Mary H. Little, "Method and Content of an Intensive Course in Preparation for Later Maturity," paper read at Second International Gerontological Congress, St. Louis, September 1951.

¹⁶ Clark Tibbitts, "Aging and Living," *Adult Education Bulletin*, Vol. 13 (1948), pp. 204-11.

¹⁷ Wilma Donahue, "Experiments in the Education of Older Adults," *Adult Education*, Vol. 2, December 1951.

The class divided into three groups; the projects selected by the groups and carried out during the semester were concerned with a study of the satisfactions and dissatisfactions of older people with the church, an analysis of work and training opportunities for older women in the local community, and planning a community center for older people. The students designed interview schedules, collected and analyzed data, and prepared final reports. In addition to gaining information, they learned about the community and the techniques to be used in approaching the problems of changing conditions for older people.¹⁸

In 1950, Dr. Henry Curtis, himself a man past eighty, proposed that colleges and universities establish a one-year college to help older people learn how to adjust to the problems of old age.¹⁹ His proposal is based on the assumption that old age is a specific life period, and that people need training for living during this period just as for the earlier phases of life. The college which he proposes would have separate buildings, a campus, and its own staff. Its courses and training programs would be individualized and would be based on the results of a physical examination, appraisal of capacities, and financial resources for future living. Students would be taught the best daily habits regarding nutrition, exercise, play, and rest. They would also be stimulated and trained in the development of new interests, new fields of endeavor, new skills and creative activities.

The recently announced Sunk Mine Project, sponsored by the Walt Founda-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; see also Wilma Donahue, "Challenges of Aging," in *Proceedings of the 1951 North Carolina Conference on Aging* (in press).

¹⁹ Henry S. Curtis, "A College for Our Aging Population" (mimeographed), 1100 Hill Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

tion, embodies much the same principle as Dr. Curtis' proposition.²⁰ A college for over-sixty Vassar graduates and their husbands has been established at the Sunk Mine Farm, located twenty-five miles from Vassar College. The farm was provided by Mary Babbott Ladd, and the project will be directed by Mary Fisher Langmuir of the Vassar faculty. The educational plan is designed to meet the needs of older persons who are still physically fit, still adventurous in their attitude toward life, but in a quandary as to how to spend their presently enforced leisure. The opening month will be devoted to orientation courses in problems of readjustment, in world and national affairs, and in the arts and sciences, following which students may choose special interests for further study.

Establishing attitudes

Two methods have been employed by colleges and universities to bring the problems of an aging population before the public and to help change attitudes toward the aging. One method has been the sponsorship of radio and television programs which has already been mentioned. These programs have presented the older person with dignity and with emphasis on his positive qualities, in contrast to the semicaricature of old age characteristic of such commercial programs as "Life Begins at Eighty."

A second procedure used by colleges and universities in the education of the general public as well as professional groups has been the holding of conferences and institutes. Conferences have been held at the University of California,²¹ the University of Flor-

ida,²² and the University of Chicago to explore research needs. General explorations of the problems of an aging population have been conducted in conferences at Marshall College,²³ Ohio State University, Northwestern University, New York University, and the University of Michigan.²⁴ Special topics have been considered by some conferences: geriatric nursing at the University of Minnesota; employment and social casework for the aged at the University of Wisconsin; and rehabilitation of the older worker at the University of Michigan.

Training personnel

In 1947 the results of a survey by the Division of Maturity and Old Age of the American Psychological Association showed that university and college instruction relating to problems of the older adult lagged behind the concern and needs of labor unions, social welfare groups, and the aging themselves. From the responses of seventy-one medical schools only five were found to offer specific courses in geriatrics, and only two of sixty-two departments or colleges of education reported courses on the psychology of maturity.²⁵

The situation has not improved significantly in the last five years. Everett Soop examined the 1949-50 catalogue

²² T. Lynn Smith, Ed., *Problems of America's Aging Population*, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951.

²³ *Proceedings of Conference on Living the Later Years*, Huntington, W. Va.: Marshall College, 1950.

²⁴ Proceedings published by University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan: *Living Through the Older Years* (Clark Tibbitts, Ed., 1949); *Planning the Older Years* (Wilma Donahue and Clark Tibbitts, Eds., 1950); *Growing in the Older Years* (Wilma Donahue and Clark Tibbitts, Eds., 1951).

²⁵ Dale B. Harris, "Courses of Instruction on Maturity and Old Age," *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 3 (1948), p. 225.

²⁰ Mary Babbott Ladd, "The Sunk Mine Project," *Vassar Alumnae Magazine*, Vol. 37 (1951), pp. 20-21.

²¹ *The Adjustment of the Aging Population*, Berkeley: University Extension, University of California, 1949.

of sixty schools of social work and found that only five listed special courses focused on the aging.²⁶ In 1949 the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging found that out of 486 colleges and universities only 13 had special courses on some phase of aging.²⁷ The same survey showed that some emphasis was placed on the aged in other courses in 463 schools, most frequently in departments of sociology or social work (234) and in economics (104). Since 1949, a few more schools have instituted training courses. For example, New York University conducted a two-week workshop on gerontology as part of its adult education curriculum in the summer of 1951.²⁸

Research

Every medical school in the United States is carrying out research on the diseases of old age. Other research areas, however, are receiving much less attention. The extent to which researches in the physical and medical sciences have outdistanced investigations in the psycho-social and economic spheres is indicated by the fact that more than three-fourths of the entries in Nathan Shock's *Classified Bibliography on Gerontology and Geriatrics* fall under the categories of "Biology of Aging," "Organ Systems," and "Geriatrics." The Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago has taken leadership in the investigation of psycho-social problems of aging. The University of California,

Cornell University, and Columbia University are concerned with investigations on the employability of older people. As Shock points out, however, aging is not the major concern of any university research organizations, and most data have been accumulated by isolated investigators.²⁹

CITY SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

The public school system is the center of adult education in most communities. State aid programs make it possible for schools to receive remuneration for adult students in many states. Although there is no upper age limitation in such financial aid programs, few schools have emphasized education for the older adult.

Statistical data regarding the number and kinds of programs offered by the city schools are lacking. Homer Kempfer conducted a survey of schools in 1947 to determine the number offering courses for people past retirement age.³⁰ He found that only seven schools were offering such courses; four offered training in handicrafts, one offered a course on nutrition, another a course on current events, and one school offered a course on family life.

The situation today is somewhat better than when the Kempfer survey was made. In Michigan alone, at least fifteen city school systems have provided general courses on the problems of aging. San Diego, California has a similar course. The Los Angeles city schools report the most ambitious program, with 1,600 individuals enrolled in sixteen different evening schools. These courses continue from October to June and are made up of a series of lectures devoted to each of the following

²⁶ Everett J. Soop, "Proposed Programs in Education for an Aging Population," in *Growing in the Older Years*, cited note 24 *supra*, p. 138.

²⁷ Unpublished report of New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging, 94 Broadway, Newburgh, N. Y.

²⁸ Wilma Donahue, unpublished report, 1510 Rackham Building, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

²⁹ Nathan W. Shock, *Trends in Gerontology* (Stanford Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1951), p. 75.

³⁰ Homer Kempfer, in a private communication to the author.

topics: health, personal affairs, nutrition, psychology of aging, philosophy, and crafts.³¹

Henrietta Rabe of the New York State Bureau of Adult Education reports that in the past two years there has been a significant increase in the number of local adult education programs provided for older adults in New York. These have developed among special interest groups in clubs and in homes for the aged, and some of the activities are concerned with preparation for retirement, vocational counseling and retraining, and community education.³² In order to stimulate and encourage public schools to expand their programs for older adults, Mrs. Rabe has prepared a guide for a series of meetings designed to help the individual plan his retirement and find some secondary purpose in life.³³

Direct attempts to change community attitudes have not been made in most of the school programs. Some programs, however, have featured community hobby shows and choruses which at least draw favorable attention to old people.

There appears to be little effort to design school programs so that they will yield research data, which are vitally needed for the guidance of other educators in developing programs.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION PROGRAMS

With the advent of compulsory retirement, communities have become aware of the problems of the increasing

numbers of idle citizens. Concern for their welfare and their inadequate preparation for old age has led many communities to undertake educational programs to assist in adjustment to the problems of aging.

The educational programs developed by community agencies have varied from courses of lectures to institutes and conferences. A few examples will illustrate the variety of community agencies sponsoring programs: Young Men's Christian Association in Minneapolis³⁴ and Hyde Park, Chicago; welfare councils in Dayton,³⁵ Cleveland, New York City, Chicago, Rochester, Philadelphia, and Denver; libraries in Cleveland and Detroit; churches in Toledo, Cleveland, Grand Rapids, and Pasadena; and special research agencies, such as Community Studies, Inc. in Kansas City, Missouri.

Significant research on the community level has been carried out by Community Studies, Inc., which has surveyed the needs of the aging in Kansas City and has conducted an evaluative study of one of the local homes for the aging. The Community Project for the Aged, a committee of the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, has made an exhaustive study of the needs of the aged in Chicago. The Family and Children's Service of Minneapolis is making a study of the effects of an activities program in boarding homes for the aged.

PROGRAMS FOR THE OLDER WORKER

Education for older workers may have several goals: (1) training and retraining for new jobs, necessitated by technological changes or by age changes; (2) training for continuation

³¹ Ann M. Barron, "A Large City School Program for Older Adults," *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 6 (1951), p. 58.

³² Henrietta F. Rabe, "Educational Programs for the Older Adult in New York State," paper read at Second International Gerontological Congress, St. Louis, September 1951.

³³ "Retirement—A Second Career" (mimeographed), Bureau of Adult Education, New York State Education Department, Albany, N. Y., 1951.

³⁴ Jerry Kaplan, mimeographed report, Hennepin County Welfare Board, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1951.

³⁵ Gordon W. Allen, "Dayton's Institute on Preparation for Retirement," *College and University*, January 1951, pp. 247-51.

of employment after retirement from primary occupations; or (3) preparation for retirement from work. Not only the older worker, but unions, employers, and the community also have an interest in providing education which will increase security in old age and maintain the older individual's participation. Industry recognizes that preparation for retirement is important, but it is also becoming concerned with the corollary objective of keeping older men in the labor force, since the proportion of laborers in the normally preferred age groups is now declining. Organized labor is concerned not only with maintaining adequate pensions, but also with the right of the individual to continue in employment as long as he is able to work. Communities have responsibility for utilizing the skills and the wisdom of the older worker.

These various interests should develop integrated programs to serve the needs of the older workers. Arthur Carstens points out that this will involve "training and retraining facilities, an adequate placement service, educational opportunities and all kinds of professional service," and he comments that "while active experimentation has begun, no comprehensive program for the older worker is underway anywhere in the United States."³⁶ Perhaps it will be possible to correlate the isolated programs being carried out by industry, unions, and the community so that the older worker will not continue to experience such a marked contrast between his pre-retirement life and that which follows.

Most industrial programs at the present time are concerned solely with preparation of workers for retirement, and these programs are of several types. Some consist of a series of lectures pre-

sented either by professional educators, as in the General Motors of Canada experiment,³⁷ or by personnel officers, as in the Standard Oil of New Jersey program. The programs of the Prudential Insurance Company of America and the Ford Motor Company are examples of those which provide personal counseling services. In other programs, printed literature on problems of the aging is issued, for example, the series "My Time—Is My Time" published by General Motors.

Research on employment and retirement practices is underway. Probably the most comprehensive is that being directed by Elizabeth Breckinridge of the University of Chicago's Committee on Human Development. It is from such studies as these that hope for integrated programs to serve the aging is to be found. As research reports are published, educators should study them with a view to determining what contributions can be made by educational programs toward maintaining the older individual as a participating and useful member of society.

CONCLUSION

It appears obvious that adult education has given but scant attention to the needs of older adults. Growing awareness of the problems and of the opportunity to assist in maintaining older people in functional roles is apparent, but little more than sporadic and isolated action will be taken by educators until more systematic information and more trained leadership are available.

In appreciation of this need, the Adult Education Association of the United States has adopted a recommendation that a study group be established to survey the educational needs of older

³⁶ Arthur Carstens, "Community Attitudes Toward the Aging," *Adult Education*, Vol. 1 (1950), p. 53.

³⁷ R. B. Robson, "Experiments in Education of the Older Worker," *Industrial Medicine and Surgery*, Vol. 18 (1949), pp. 365-67.

adults, to provide direction and content for programs, and to develop plans for the integration of educational programs with total community planning for the older adult. A second recommendation adopted by the association was that a workshop for the training of leaders in the education of older people be conducted for the purpose of assessing needs, developing programs, and evaluating outcomes over a period of years.

The tempo of developments in the field of aging, however, precludes postponement of action until the results of

such undertakings are available. Education for and about the aging must be developed at every level. Local communities can provide services to the individual older person; state organizations can assist in the formulation of policy and the promotion of co-operation between agencies; and national groups can provide for broad-scale research and for an over-all integration of activities for the aging. By these means, education can make its contribution to the maintenance of the older person as a useful member of society.

Wilma T. Donahue, Ph.D., Ann Arbor, Michigan, is research psychologist and chairman of the Division of Gerontology, Institute for Human Adjustment, and lecturer in psychology at the University of Michigan. She has served as director of the Bureau of Psychological Services, mental hygienist in the Student Health Service, and psychological counselor in the Veterans Service Bureau at the University of Michigan. She was chairman of the section on education of the National Conference on Aging, and is a member of the Michigan Governor's Commission for Study of the Problems of Aging and the Committee on Education for an Aging Population of the National Education Association.

Housing Our Older Citizens

By HERTHA KRAUS

MODEST but regular cash incomes, as provided by social insurance benefits, by industrial and government pensions, by annuities, and also by old-age assistance have given to many of our older citizens a new freedom. Some are thus given freedom to determine whether they want to live in their own households as owners or tenants, whether they prefer to be partly or wholly relieved from housekeeping responsibilities by moving into a hotel, a rooming house or a boarding house, whether they wish to live under the care and management of a public or private charitable institution, or whether they would feel happier and more useful moving in with married children or other close relatives, sharing their homes and some of their responsibilities. Such choice represents great improvement indeed as against earlier periods, not so long ago, when mostly for economic reasons the older generation was forced to yield its independence in exchange for family support, or for the far less acceptable support of almshouses and other congregate institutions.

In reality today the choice may be quite restricted, however: by anxiety in anticipating need for personal care in illness and emergencies; by the shying away from responsibilities for household management, cooking, cleaning, marketing; or by failing strength. There are the inconveniences and hazards of dwellings not planned for the older years. In many cases, income is so limited as to prohibit an easy change to a more suitable dwelling. And there is definitely a shortage of desirable dwelling units

of low and medium cost, and of desirable living arrangements in pleasant and welcoming institutions.

INCOME RESTRICTIONS ON HOUSING

There is a general belief that most older people wish to live in their own homes. Data from the 1950 Census show that, whether by choice or circumstance,

over 80 per cent of the urban and rural nonfarm families of people 65 years of age and over maintain independent households. Generally speaking, their housing circumstances are worse than those of the rest of the population. The aged tend to occupy relatively more very low rent dwelling units and low value structures, and their housing is relatively more dilapidated and deficient in plumbing facilities.¹

Limited purchasing power is, of course, a primary factor influencing choice of living arrangements of older people. Families at the upper age levels are disproportionately numerous among all low income families. The best data available on money income of the older population are summarized in the article by Dr. Cohen, "Income Maintenance for the Aged," in this volume.

Obviously there is little or no problem in this respect for people of substantial means who can select hotel or apartment living or independent homes at prevailing rates, and who have the funds from which they can supplement their housing by invited, usually paid, companions, and by professional and

¹ L. S. Silk, "The Housing Characteristics of the Aged in the United States, 1950," paper presented at the Second International Gerontological Congress, St. Louis, Sept. 13, 1951, p. 4.

personal services as their conditions may require them.

There is also, perhaps, little of a housing problem for those who continue in employment, earning incomes high enough to maintain acceptable living standards in a familiar setting among old associates with some money to pay for lightening domestic responsibilities and to meet the exigencies of ill health. Continuing employment and earning may delay their housing problem—not necessarily solve it for a later period. And, finally, there is a group of unknown size—parents and grandparents—needed and personally wanted by a younger generation of their family, and willing and able to adjust to the younger generation's life pattern and friends in exchange for the satisfaction of continued usefulness and an affectionate climate.

FACTORS IN UNSATISFACTORY HOUSING

In the records of community agencies, in national and local studies,² and in the experience of many professional workers and volunteers there is ample evidence that housing and living arrangements for many of our older people are often most unsatisfactory. Ministers and physicians, caseworkers, visiting nurses, and visiting housekeepers know of the problems. Councils of social agencies and information centers receive innumerable requests from older persons to find new living quarters for

them. Boarding and nursing homes serving the aged often have long waiting lists, particularly those which offer desirable arrangements in familiar neighborhoods. Hospitals, general and mental, know of many patients who might be released if they could only have a home suitable for some continued care.

Severe family tensions, most painful conflicts and injuries to old and young, are reported by psychiatrists and caseworkers when families are trying to combine arrangements satisfying for two or three generations in the same home. People living alone or with elderly spouses may fight a constant depressing struggle with environmental hazards: difficult stairs, poor lighting or heat, inconvenient kitchens and bathrooms which grossly overtax the capacity to deal with daily needs. Malnutrition and neglect of personal care and cleanliness may result for some, while others are filled with increasing anxiety and guilt. But even a convenient home may be lonely because of its inaccessibility for relatives and friends.

Besides, housing costs may be too great, quite out of proportion to total incomes. Pricing rentals for an elderly couple in eight large cities, Social Security Administration Studies found in 1946-48 that they must spend from 37 to 51 per cent of their total budget on rent, heating and light.³ Among nonfarm householders 65 and older, 1946 figures of the Bureau of the Census show that more than two-thirds—2.5 million of the 3.5 million households in this group—owned their own property.⁴ We may also wonder how

² EDITOR'S NOTE: Dr. Kraus supplied a large number of references to United States and foreign literature on housing for older people. Unfortunately, there was not space to print them. The Revised Division of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D. C., has incorporated Dr. Kraus's references in a bibliography which is available on request. See also Hertha Kraus, "Older Persons Have Special Housing Needs," *Journal of Housing*, Jan., 1950.

³ See Social Security Administration, "A Budget for an Elderly Couple," *Social Security Bulletin*, Feb. 1948.

⁴ See Subcommittee on Low Income Families, Joint Committee on the Economic Report, *Low-Income Families and Economic Stability* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office), pp. 27-28, 83.

many of the 2.5 million homeowners are actually able to maintain their property in adequate condition, and how many contribute to deterioration and blight of entire neighborhoods.

The overwhelming evidence of need and social damage can be offset only to a very small degree by the positive response of those older people who in recent years have been helped to strengthen their living arrangements and are now occasionally reached by newer community services extending into their homes. Friendly visiting and counseling, housekeeping and nursing aid, recreation, library, and hospital extension services have brought a new outlook and a new lease on life to a fortunate few.

COMMUNITY RESPONSE

There has also been a new sympathetic response to the gradual discovery of the housing needs of our senior citizens. We begin to recognize that the rapid increase of the aging population, the longer life span of many individuals, the longer span of married life—in combination with other well-known factors such as urbanization, industrialization, physical mobility, and class mobility—have created conditions which can no longer be met by traditional measures and practices. We have also become a little more sensitive to the meaning of emotional needs which will hardly be satisfied by extending minimum economic support.

Current attention and efforts, responding to increasing demand, have approached the housing problem from various angles, including: (1) nationwide attempts at modernization and expansion of various institutional facilities; (2) extension of diversified services into the homes of aged persons or at least into their immediate neighborhoods in an attempt to strengthen and

prolong independent living arrangements, similar to the services described by Miss Dorothea Ramsey in the article, "Community Services for Self-Maintenance in the United Kingdom," in this volume; and (3) fact-finding and exploratory studies, workshops, conferences, and programmatic statements on better housing.

The Working Committee on Aging in its progress report⁵ to the Federal Security Administrator set forth six principles with regard to housing, confirmed by the 1950 National Conference on the Aging: (1) development of substitutes for family life and encouragement of opportunities which will allow older people to form new families; (2) consideration of certain amendments of the National Housing Act which would permit federally aided public housing projects to include units for the elderly who are living alone; (3) exploration of the merit of government loans to municipalities, co-operatives, and other nonprofit groups to build low-cost or low-rent housing for older people; (4) expansion of nonresident community services, with special emphasis on housekeeping and nursing; (5) allocation of some space for specially designed and equipped units in all public housing projects and in those supported by private investments; and (6) mobilization of extensive research for the study of existent facilities and trends, and appraisal of current efforts.

It must be noted with distress that, within the entire range of activities and plans, least attention is being given to improving and increasing the actual supply of low- and medium-cost dwelling units for those who wish to live outside of institutions and also independent of their own families if such exist.

⁵ Federal Security Agency, *Programs for an Aging Population*, March 1950, pp. 23-25.

Waiting for a solution are those in inadequate dwellings, those spending far too much of their meager income on maintaining their independence, those forced into rooming houses and rented rooms who crave the dignity of their own homes, and those forced into dependency on a younger family without being compatible or welcome.

There are practically no new developments in this area. We scan the literature and meet the same old friends: a few cottage colonies for the elderly developed by public enterprise as in Millville, New Jersey or by fraternal efforts in a few spots in California and Florida; fewer than three hundred apartments designed for the aged in public projects in New York City, Chicago, Denver, and Bridgeport, Connecticut; and even a smaller number of apartments for the aged under the auspices of voluntary agencies in New York City.

More must and can be done. We may need a clearer focus. Experience, observation, assorted studies—all available information indicates: (1) a clear preference of an overwhelming majority of aging people for noninstitutional living; (2) great benefit for the individual of continuing as long as possible in familiar surroundings in personal homes; (3) the need to protect many specialized and expensive institutions against the growing demand for long-time care by patients who might be cared for differently at less expense to the community and to themselves, and with far greater comfort; and (4) the high capital and operating costs of institutional care of every type—general hospitals, mental hospitals, hospitals for the chronically ill, nursing homes, and boarding homes of adequate standards—which can rarely be met without substantial subsidies.

ALTERNATIVE HOUSING PATTERNS

What then shall we do? Shall we try to build up a stronger feeling of family responsibility so that the homes of the younger generation will increasingly provide a solution?

Is return to the three-generation family the natural, the decent, the most economical way? Many factors point in the opposite direction. The answer is likely to be "no." The arguments of great mobility, urban living, smaller size of families and of family homes, all in line with long-time trends, have been stated frequently.

If, then, a return to family care and three-generation living arrangements seems rather unlikely for considerable numbers of the aged, now and in the near future, what can be done realistically to provide large numbers with more adequate homes? Will the present community services, expanding, provide the answer?

All true friends of individualized service must recognize the inherent limitations of community services outside institutions, must wish to protect them against the dangerous and crushing pressures of mass demand. Their continuing extension into numerous homes will depend on a number of rather uncertain factors: leadership; sustained community interest, understanding, and support; availability of qualified personnel in specialized fields, capable of functioning both independently and as part of interprofessional teams.

Even if there should not be any lack in most of these areas, the problem of priority and of balance in the utilization of a limited service potential must arise. Who shall have first claim on highly skilled and costly services if not all can be helped: the younger or the older generation? the well, those only

slightly handicapped, or those severely disabled? those who can be helped to reach a high level of social and economic productivity, or those where such expectation would be entirely unrealistic?

Is a further expansion of general and specialized institutions for the care of the aging urgently needed? Frankly, we do not know. The obvious current demand may be partly, if not largely, a result of inadequate domestic living arrangements. The pressure on institutional services, including mental and other hospitals, may represent a last choice, an escape out of intolerable conditions—not necessarily a desirable, suitable, and advantageous solution in meeting real needs.

Caution seems indicated before we decide to make substantial permanent capital investments in order to create institutional service units which cannot easily be converted if housing conditions or policy should change. The surplus of children's institutions, of antiquated almshouses, or correctional institutions for youth should serve to underline this consideration. It may be one of the most important characteristics of the expanding noninstitutional home-service program that, without capital investment, they can be stretched to meet urgent needs temporarily, taking some of the pressures off the institutions until we are more ready to focus attention, energies, and co-ordinated action on the greatest gap in our resources for the aging—special housing with built-in facilities.

We are dealing with a mass problem, rather similar to the problem of income protection as we discovered it in its true proportion only during the depression of the thirties. Then we learned, at the cost of great and prolonged suffering of millions of people, that mass problems cannot be solved by improvisation, by voluntary action alone, by personal resourcefulness, or even by a

maximum of professional individualized service, and certainly not by charity.

FOREIGN DEVELOPMENTS.

At this point a brief look at foreign developments in our field may be in order. Limited space will allow only a sketchy analysis of available data, and an attempt at their interpretation in reference to the American scene.

Old-age housing is receiving marked public attention in a good many countries. Outstanding illustrations of carefully planned projects have become known especially in England, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland; also in the Union of South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. On this continent, Canada and Mexico have produced interesting developments in recent years.

Most of these countries have a tradition of nation-wide public housing programs for the planned improvement of neighborhoods and family dwellings covering all population groups, not only those in the minimum income brackets. Most of them have also established public old-age insurance and pension schemes which for many years have provided large groups of aged with modest but regular cash incomes, outside public assistance.

In their current planning for the aged, all recognize typical repetitive conditions which can be anticipated. Needs differ only slightly, in degree, among several groups: the able-bodied older folks, those frail and in need of some help, those more seriously disabled, and those disabled requiring hospital care and service. Foreign countries now tend to integrate facilities for these groups, so that any transition as needed may be easy and will not represent a complete break with familiar surroundings. They also tend to relate institutional units more closely with the community at large, making small in-

stitutions part of integrated neighborhood schemes, to become available in every planned neighborhood. Such an approach has meant the development of projects where institutions have taken on many features of living arrangements once typical of private dwellings only, and specially designed private dwellings have been increasingly enriched by built-in services once typical of institutional care.

Isledon House in London (England), the Protestant Evening Sun Home at Velp (Holland), the sixty Catholic institutions following the design of Raalte (Holland), the standard model for town planning as approved by the Dutch Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing with its senior apartment-cottages-hospital unit, may illustrate this point. So may the Riehler Heimstaetten in Cologne (Germany), the Sabbertsbergs Alderdomshem in Stockholm (Sweden), and the Eventide Home at Rockhamton (Australia).

These and many other projects are imaginative attempts, many frankly experimental, to deal effectively with a world-wide problem. Solutions have been encouraged by close co-operation of public bodies with mutual aid, co-operative associations and other voluntary agencies. A policy of mutual trust and partnership, applied also to many other fields of social welfare, has provided public funds for a substantial part of the capital outlay without stifling private initiative and freedom of management by nongovernmental groups.

Design and management

Foreign design for community housing of elderly people is quite varied. There are nursing homes everywhere (also modified as rest and "halfway" houses); there are boarding homes and hostels; there are residence clubs with

light housekeeping facilities; and there are many low-rent cottage colonies, including one-family and duplex buildings. There are also many small and large apartment houses, practically always with special provisions for housekeeping and nursing aid and for group recreation. Many have nursing units for those who are incapacitated, or simply sick bays—a somewhat controversial feature. While all newer units have been designed with very special attention to health and accident hazards, and to the convenience of elderly people, there is a clear influence of national preferences and living patterns on each national program and its unit design.

Responsibility for management of the housing units varies. Often the municipal government has charge through its public welfare department. Public housing agencies, also administering other housing projects, may carry full responsibility, unless co-operative associations, voluntary nonprofit housing societies, or church-related or other humanitarian agencies assume the role of landlord. In the same country several different forms are practiced side by side.

Financing

There is, however, a practically uniform source of finance for the entire investment capital, or at least a very substantial part of it. Public funds are used everywhere. They are at the core of all newer projects. They may stem from different budgets: from funds allocated to housing in general, from social insurance reserve or operating funds, or from the budgets of local public welfare and health agencies in line with their traditional policy of developing adequate social facilities. In addition to public funds, capital investments by co-operative associations have played

some role; also generous contributions from foundations and private trust funds, mostly interested in social experimentation. Churches of all denominations have channeled substantial funds into housing developments for the aged, supplementing public grants for the same purpose.

In the main, projects try to cover most of the operating expenses from earnings: income from rentals, boarding fees, or service charges. Rentals follow a sliding scale related to current tenant incomes. There is also, frequently, regular project income from subsidies, from social insurance funds, or from government housing funds. Some voluntary contributions and a great deal of voluntary personal service enrich the programs of both public and voluntary enterprises.

An additional word about subsidies may be in order. Their pattern in each country follows closely the general pattern of government subsidies for all kinds of social welfare purposes. Subsidies may be attached to specific housing units or, as more recently in Sweden and some other countries, to individuals and families wherever they find adequate housing, as long as they are eligible for such subsidy within a given legal category.

It should, however, be clearly understood that these subsidies are not part of a public relief scheme, and are never administered as such. Under European conditions, subsidies not only reflect a different, completely accepted policy, hardly controversial: they may serve as a device in equalization in order to meet, at least in part, the differential between the cost of prewar and postwar housing, thus spreading the advantages of modern housing to all income groups. They may also serve the purpose of supplementing rather inadequate social insurance benefits which reflect heavy losses of capital by in-

flation and other retarding factors. Low-cost housing and subsidized rents may offer an inflation-proof supplement to many beneficiaries, while cash benefits follow but slowly the ever rising cost of living.

Scope of programs

The scope and speedy expansion of many programs for special senior housing is truly impressive against the background of impoverished economies struggling with a multitude of pressures and social responsibilities. England and the Netherlands both aim at producing not less than 5 per cent of special housing, counting all dwelling units, old and recent. This means at least 10 per cent of all new buildings—a figure not yet completely reached but a clear objective. In 1947 there were already 13,000 housing units for old-age pensioners in little Denmark; the current goal is 20 per cent special units for the population 65 and over.

Observation, study, and reports of foreign developments reflect clearly: (1) a rapidly broadening concept of public social policy; (2) wide interest in active support for good housing and neighborhood planning as an important community resource; (3) a leading role of local government in planning, initiation, and operation of community services for the aged, often assisted by strong citizen participation; and (4) a sincere recognition of the peculiar needs and urgent claims of an aging population.

They also reflect the strong impact of war and destruction on many countries: a heightened sensitivity to human misery, a readiness to yield a high priority to the needs of a sinking generation involved in the shocks and losses of at least two wars. Shortages of supplies and scanty capital have not interfered

substantially with imaginative design, nor with carrying plans into action.

CHALLENGE TO AMERICA

On the American scene with its mass problem of more than 12 million aged right now—a rapidly increasing group according to all population forecasts—we note the hopeful beginnings in federal legislation and public opinion of a new national housing policy, but a tragically small public housing program. It currently provides 50,000 units a year narrowly confined to the minimum income groups, and among them to families coming from substandard housing, with some exceptions for veterans. Shall we simply expect the aging in the American community to take their chances in housing along with other millions of limited means? Shall we refer our friends and ourselves for our sunset years to the famous “filtering down” process in housing, which perhaps may yield some cheap housing which no one else wants?

What counsel do we have for the 4 million people over 65 with incomes between \$500 and \$2,000 a year (1948), or the 5.5 million with less than \$500 (among them some spouses of the first group)? We are not even sure whether the three-quarter million people who boasted incomes between \$2,000 and \$3,000 a year in 1948 will find adequate dwellings.

The validity of special housing schemes for the aging, particularly of low-rent projects, is questioned by some well-meaning people, while it is strongly endorsed by most experts. The latter are not afraid of segregation in any well-planned scheme. Nor are they convinced that most elderly people would prefer to live in the midst of crowds of children, teen-agers, young couples, and their visiting friends. Older people will always be quite free to do so if they wish.

Adequate housing for the aged must develop at the crossroads of two important programs: better housing in better neighborhoods within the reach of all income groups and more adequate services to meet the peculiar needs of a large and growing senior consumer group commonly characterized by waning ability and a proneness to multiple handicaps. Because of these characteristics, service resources for them must be widely available, highly decentralized, truly accessible. Those commonly in greatest demand and of greatest importance should be built into their homes and immediate neighborhoods—resources for preventive care, support, and active aid.

PLANNED ENVIRONMENT, A BASIC RESOURCE

We all know the importance of a positive, helpful environment. Why not deliberately create such environments and put them to work? An environment may be planned in such a way that it will release the powers of self-help and mutual aid; it may stimulate satisfying activities and give them scope. It may form a strong supporting base for those specialized services and facilities which may be needed at times, and which the community at large must continue to provide in increasingly adequate manner—leisure-time facilities, casework, nursing and medical services; hospitals, nursing and convalescent homes, and clinics of all kinds.

In American communities, as abroad, oldsters should have a choice among a variety of living arrangements, priced within reach of medium and low income groups but meeting high standards: nursing and boarding homes, residence clubs (all managed by nonprofit organizations); senior apartment hotels; colonies of single and two-family dwelling units arranged in clusters, in addi-

tion to traditional dwelling units in one-family or multiple dwellings. Standard hotels and apartment houses might devote some sections or entire floors to a senior unit with special facilities. Some homeowners favoring stability and preferring to continue in their own homes with a reduced income, or just looking for a sound investment, might plan for their own retirement a small but independent senior annex—creating the American version of the British "Plus Granny" flat.

In line with foreign experience and with a natural approach, it would seem that many neighborhoods in both urban and rural communities should have several or all of these facilities under good management, as closely co-operating units and part of a balanced neighborhood scheme.

COMPANION APARTMENTS

Realism suggests an additional design which at first glance may find little approval. But are we not dealing with a group whose economic status is rather low and who cannot expect to improve it substantially in any foreseeable future, a large number of whom tend to be lonely, would enjoy more visiting, and would profit from help in keeping house?

Under American cultural conditions, companion group apartments may be a practical answer, promising economy in investment and operation. They are designed for economy and comfort for otherwise lonesome people, for people who during their working years have been quite used to eating out and rather enjoy eating in company, for people whose idea of fun is doing something with others, for people who like to be good neighbors and have naturally and simply helped when there was trouble or some special strain, for people who

enjoy friendly relations without expecting to become close friends. Such folk seem to be abundant in the American community. Many have great ease in working together without direction for some immediate tangible purpose.

Aging people of such background and long-established habits of co-operation may be suited by a dwelling which allows for both privacy and group experience in the same unit.

The standard basic unit, similar to a large apartment, would provide family-style facilities for a pseudo family of approximately seven residents, among whom one, the senior resident, would have specific responsibilities. Seven pleasant single rooms, some connecting, all with running water, would be planned around a large, comfortable living-dining-kitchen, preferably with a common porch or balcony. There would also be a small office in each unit for the senior resident's outside contacts and for sickroom supplies. There would be two toilets, one spacious, well-equipped bathroom, convenient for people who might need assistance for physical care. The family kitchen would be planned to allow for individual preparation of meals if so desired or for doing things together. Each would have his own food locker and space for supplies. All essential kitchen utensils, pots and pans, china and silver, would be part of the initial equipment of the "family" unit. A reasonable number of such basic units would be clustered in one apartment house or in a block of such buildings, with a minimum of common facilities, preferably a spacious multiple-purpose workshop, a hobby room, and some club rooms.

There might or might not be a small professional staff; the regular community agencies would extend their professional services into the buildings.

The management would provide, as standard housekeeping service, the regular cleaning of bathrooms and toilets, and the periodic cleaning of individual rooms. Laundry service for all household linen, if not for personal items, should also be part of the service covered by rentals.

The extent of additional services within each unit would depend on the grouping of residents in each and on their particular needs or desires. As needed, the senior resident in a number of units (or one member of a resident couple) might actually be a practical or graduate nurse, an attendant capable of meeting the problems of mental disorders, a housekeeper-cook, a skilled semiprofessional homemaker and case aide. Some units might also decide, as a family group, to hire a part-time cook to prepare the main meal. They might share a practical nurse with a neighboring unit in the same building. Some might be fully capable of managing all their own affairs as a co-operative group, perhaps taking turns in handling the role of the senior resident and his public relations.

Expected advantages

This plan claims a number of distinct advantages, of which only a few may be listed here. It allows for utmost flexibility in grouping of residents and in their service, adaptable to changing needs, advancing years, and decreasing capacities. It offers the physical framework within which mutual and neighborly aid may be readily available and may be stimulated into new and satisfying experiences. It forms a solid base for many organized community services and would thus strengthen home care, even in critical days.

It is likely to meet such personal needs as the desire for sheltered inde-

pendence, for belonging, for recognition, for sociability and friendly relations. It makes self-help convenient by providing fully adequate physical facilities (bathrooms, kitchens) and by decreasing the chores of individual housekeeping. It lends the support of neighborly help and, incidentally, provides a new outlet for resourcefulness, initiative, and skills, as applied to daily and familiar problems.

It improves the standards of sanitation and cleanliness, and probably also of nutrition. It has a potential for all kinds of leisure-time activities at home without the need to face traffic and unpleasant weather conditions. It may attract many more "friendly visitors" from the community willing to share time and skill with groups of older folks who have become easily accessible.

It offers physical care and companionship in familiar surroundings during periods of disability and reduces the anxiety about such days. In other words, it substantially strengthens the potential of home care, even for the chronically ill.

Last, but not least, it may provide an increasingly eager group with work opportunities, creating suitable part-time and full-time positions. In addition, neighborhood demand may discover many capable baby sitters, seamstresses, part-time household aides, secretaries, bookkeepers, and handymen ready and waiting for calls. The common workshop would also allow the placement of some industrial homework under favorable conditions.

This unit plan of a companion group apartment with semi-independent housekeeping is also applicable to cottages and small buildings designed along similar lines, and to the remodeling of large, outdated family homes if they have at least seven bedrooms on the first and second floors.

Personnel and management

The management of these group apartments would best be in charge of various co-operative and voluntary agencies, including "senior housing" associations. In the long run, nonprofit associations of women managers, somewhat similar to the Octavia Hill Associations of England, might handle most effectively the innumerable daily details of such projects. Personnel would need some training and provisions for staff development. Early model units should be equipped as training centers for additional staff groups needed elsewhere. Each unit might well offer new and satisfying work opportunities for a middle-aged group and for the "young" old folks whose employment on a mature level we desire so urgently.

FINANCING SENIOR HOUSING IN U. S.

What about the financial aspects of such and similar ventures? Should they become a part of the public housing program? In line with present American traditions and laws, probably they should not. They should not be tied up with the replacement of substandard housing, with slum clearance, with severely restricting requirements for tenant selection. They should not be in competition with all too limited housing funds for the urgent improvement of living conditions of families with growing children. They should not be tainted by the unfortunate stigma of public care for the lowest income group. And perhaps they should not aim at a form of financing which is characterized by annual public subsidies.

Units may and should, however, profit from redevelopment plans and their financial advantages in cutting the cost of land. A good many of them belong in downtown districts, close to the busy life and to the old, familiar places.

Incidentally, broad developments in senior housing should release many low- and medium-cost family homes for younger families, according to foreign experience—an advantageous exchange for both parties and for the community at large. They might also release some definitely substandard housing ready for demolition or at least for major repairs, again to community advantage.

Apart from public housing and redevelopment funds, there are obviously various sources for investment capital for senior projects: insurance companies, national and local foundations, churches, and special state and municipal funds which may become available. Co-operative associations of church members, union members, fraternal, professional, and interprofessional groups may be able to raise substantial funds. There are also, as a new and rapidly growing capital source, important labor welfare funds resulting from collective bargaining programs and their "fringe benefits."

The most important potential source for developing adequate senior housing as the very core and center of old-age security all over the land must be seen, however, in a substantial common property of the working people of this nation—the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund with assets of \$14.5 billion (as of May 1951). According to present responsibilities and estimates, this reserve fund will continue to grow for some time. At its peak in 1990, it is expected to hold \$83.5 billion or eight times as much as the highest expected annual disbursement for the following five years—from all angles an exceedingly strong reserve. According to law, it is now invested exclusively in United States Government securities for general government purposes at less than 3 per cent interest.

Let us assume a review of fiscal

policy and an amendment to the law which would authorize the Secretary of the Treasury, managing trustee, to invest \$500 million a year for, we may say, a period of five years, in nonprofit housing developments (under various auspices) for the exclusive benefit of older people and their dependents. Then those insured, 90 per cent of the population, would become eligible as tenants at a minimum age of 60 to 65 years. Let us further assume that the average per capita cost of senior housing units would be \$5,000 exclusive of land, the latter to be contributed locally. Investing roughly one-half of the yearly increase of the OASI reserve fund in various approved types of senior nonprofit housing units as a basic community resource would thus yield 100,000 units a year, or half a million units in five years—a reasonably adequate supply until further experience is gained. A return of 3 per cent interest would keep the reserve fund on at least the same earning level as now. It would provide approved senior housing projects with a source of capital at least 2 per cent cheaper than ordinarily available and thus contribute also to the economy of operating costs. It would provide a stable security factor, limited rent for shelter plus, in the midst of generally rising prices and dwindling values of earnings and benefits.

Must this capital be amortized? Perhaps very slowly, perhaps not at all. It might thus become a permanent social investment of the American people raising the senior citizens' living standards, generation after generation. It might keep annual costs of community services to the aged, public and private, within more reasonable bounds, thanks to built-in social security.

Must we now pay for and pile up a tremendous reserve in order to relieve the economic burden of future genera-

tions alone, while those who are elderly now or will be in the near future, and their families, have not yet been relieved from the crushing burden of seriously inadequate housing and its consequences? Why not put our capital to work to meet immediate as well as permanent needs?

VENTURES IN SOCIAL INVESTMENT

A recent survey⁶ of organized community planning for old age, covering 155 American communities with populations of 75,000 and more, showed that "the most pressing need pertains to living arrangements and housing." "Extremely few community areas are operating programs and services that are on the frontier of knowledge or are substantially experimental." There is urgency for action, for putting available knowledge and experience to work. Action should mean experimentation on a limited scale, experiments as a responsible first phase of a large-scale program of national scope. We need linked experiments, not on paper but built right into community neighborhoods in selected communities: offering a welcome and active participation, a grant of land in the right setting, an enthusiastic citizens' committee (with a good share of senior citizens) with some modest funds of its own as an equity and token of sincere interest.

From the very start, experimental housing units for the aged, following different designs, should be studied and become part of an integrated research project. Live research in controlled environments should, after a few years of intensive study and participant observation, yield concrete answers for many

⁶ P. W. Swartz, "Organized Community Planning for Old Age," *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 6, Supplement to No. 3 (Sept. 1951), Abstract, p. 154.

questions of the senior citizen and his family; of the taxpayer, the social economist, and the designer, manager, and administrator of the planned services; and of the various occupational groups

and interprofessional teams concerned with the welfare of the aged.

The immediate call is for venture capital and leadership in free nonprofit enterprise for the common good.

*Hertha Kraus, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, is associate professor of social economy at Bryn Mawr College and has studied, planned, and administered community services for the aged for many years. She has taught at the University of Washington, Columbia University, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Haverford College, and Swarthmore College. She also served as consultant to the Russell Sage Foundation, the American Friends' Service Committee, and various United States federal and international agencies here and abroad. She is author of *International Relief in Action, 1914-1943* (1944) and editor of *Case Work in the U. S. A.* (1950). She has contributed to various journals in the fields of gerontology, housing, and social work.*

Community Services for Self-Maintenance in the United Kingdom

By DOROTHEA RAMSEY

AS a rule an individual, as he grows older, comes to cherish more and more closely the wish to remain independent. Those among us who are ready to sponge on friends and relatives for money, or to become more and more demanding of attention, though conspicuous by reason of our claims, are in the minority.

It is pretty clear that many workers who are now forced to retire by mandatory regulations would be glad to continue in work if suitable employment could be found. This is not only because earnings mean more independence and freedom of action, but almost more because the regular pay check brings with it a feeling of self-respect ultimately based on the fact of making a definite contribution to society.

Unfortunately it is difficult today to find jobs for those over age 40, and insufficient efforts have been made to explore the possibilities of part-time work for the older worker. Thus, one of the most valuable sources of contribution to the wealth of the community is being unused, while the potential happiness of the older individual remains unfilled in many cases.

USUAL HOME LIFE PREFERRED

In the United Kingdom there is no doubt that the aging man or woman, whether working or not, wishes to remain independent and live in his own house, apartment, or just one room, however squalid. Therefore we can take this fact as a starting point in a discussion on the social contribution which the older citizen can make. We

can normally assume that we shall find willing collaboration in any service which the community may be able to bring, and that the alternative, which is to seek entrance into a communal home, will not be acceptable unless and until an independent life has proved quite impossible.

While on humanitarian grounds we can claim to be fulfilling the wish of the older person when we enable him to continue to live as an ordinary citizen outside an institution of any kind, it is very fortunate that this is the case, for the burden on the nation's finances would soon become quite intolerable if we were to assume that the older person should as a general rule be cared for in a home or hospital.

It has been estimated that it costs from 8 to 15 pounds a week to maintain a patient in a hospital,¹ while the maintenance cost in a home for old people will vary from 3 to 5 guineas a week according to the size and character of the home. It is therefore of the greatest importance that this type of care should be kept for those who need it.

At present in the United Kingdom a great many elderly people are occupying hospital beds because there is no other place for them. Many of these patients could be removed to a communal home if a suitable one could be found, while many doctors feel that relatives would be more willing to take their elderly folks from hospitals if more home care services were available and if an immediate bed could be relied upon in time of real crisis.

¹ *Hansard*, June 7, 1951.

In fact, however, it is extremely difficult for new cases of elderly sick to gain admittance to most hospitals, because of the pressure on beds. This is due partly to a shortage of nurses, but partly also to the fact that the supposedly chronically ill old person is occupying, sometimes for years at a time, a bed which might have been used for a very large number of acute or surgical cases.

REPORT OF BRITISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

In July 1946 the British Medical Association established a special committee to consider the care and treatment of the elderly and infirm. The Report (1947) of this committee recommended

the establishment of a co-ordinated geriatric service for the better investigation and treatment of disease and disability in old people. It was proposed that this service should be based on geriatric departments in selected general hospitals. The main functions of these departments would be to investigate the condition of elderly patients with a view to the arrangement of suitable treatment; to co-operate with the other departments of the hospital in the treatment and rehabilitation of such patients; to assess the condition of such patients on the completion of treatment and arrange their discharge to their own homes, or to residential hostels providing domestic care or, in irremediable cases, to long-stay annexes for prolonged nursing care; to conduct research into disease in old age; and to take part in the teaching of medical students and student nurses.²

In addition, the committee stated that its plan would relieve the shortage of hospital beds in two ways:

First, the expert investigation of all elderly patients in the geriatric department

² British Medical Association, *The Care and Treatment of the Elderly and Infirm*, London, 1949.

would prevent the occupation of beds by those old people who in present conditions are allowed to become bedfast unnecessarily owing to lack of systematic arrangements for thorough diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation. Secondly, through the provision of sufficient long-stay annexes for irremediable cases, and residential homes or hostels for elderly people too infirm to conduct homes of their own, but not in need of continuous nursing, it would be possible to make arrangements, under the control of the hospital geriatric departments, for discharge from hospital of the large numbers of infirm old people who at present, to their own disadvantage, remain indefinitely in hospital beds because more suitable and homely quarters for them cannot be found.³

HOME CARE FOR THE SICK

That this is an effective way of saving the pressure on hospital beds has been proved by Dr. E. B. Brooke at St. Helier Hospital, Carshalton, Surrey, England. At this hospital the procedure is as follows. The patient's own doctor will ring up the hospital and ask for a bed for his patient. Dr. Brooke or his assistant will then ask permission to visit the old person in his own home "to assess urgency and priority." A report is made, and after consultation with the patient's own doctor, arrangements are made to bring the hospital services to the home whenever possible. Such services may include nursing equipment, investigation by X rays or laboratory, physiotherapy at home, or transportation to the out-patients' department for physiotherapy. Only if there is real urgency is the patient admitted to the hospital.

This is in great contrast with the more usual method of simply placing a patient's name on a waiting list, which in nearly every case means very serious delay which is discouraging to both patient and doctor, and may even be

³ *Ibid.*

fatal in its consequences. Dr. Brooke affirms, too, that often by promising an immediate bed if the illness should become acute, he has encouraged relatives to continue to look after their elderly people at home in the knowledge that when the burden becomes too great it will be taken from them. There is no doubt that this makes for the greater happiness of the sick person, who may often be able to end his days with those he loves around him, instead of in a hospital ward with other sick and dying people.

The pioneer of this form of home care was Dr. E. M. Bluestone, until recently director of the Montefiore Hospital, New York: there are important differences in the method of dealing with the problem, but the principle is the same. Dr. Bluestone deals with his out-patients direct, and patients rely entirely on the Hospital Department of Home Care. In addition to a "medical service around the clock, seven days a week," the Montefiore patient has the help of a social worker visiting him in his own home, and a housekeeping service provided by the hospital for five to ten hours weekly. It is estimated that a patient can be treated in this way for between a quarter and a third of the sum which would be spent in keeping him in the hospital.

In the United Kingdom the Health Visitor and the Home Help perform a similar service, and specialist nursing which the patients receive from the Visiting Nurse Service of New York is paralleled by the District or Home Nurse under the National Health Service.

NURSING HOMES NEEDED

A spectacular reduction in beds for the chronic sick can be made through thorough diagnosis and active treatment for those previously classed as

"bedridden," and it is of great relevance here to stress the importance of the provision of more nursing homes to which patients can be discharged when no longer in need of a hospital bed. Today many old people are occupying hospital beds for social, not medical, reasons, simply because they have no relatives who will take them and there are not enough suitable homes to receive them. In fact there is an urgent need for special homes with a high ratio of staff and much ground-floor accommodation. This is a far less expensive type of accommodation than a hospital bed, and its value is exemplified by a case quoted by the British Medical Association Report

of a fully equipped general hospital, where, over a period of two and a half years, eight old men not in need of active treatment had continuously occupied beds which otherwise could have been used during the same period for 360 acute surgical cases.

Further, the eight old men were removed to accommodation less formal and restrictive than the hospital, to their own greater happiness.

The pressure on hospital beds could be relieved all over the country—perhaps all over the world—by proper classification before admittance, accompanied by the necessary services in the nursing home and by speedier discharge from the hospital either to such a home, temporary or permanent, according to need, or to the patient's own home with the necessary home care services.

Not only, however, is the pressure on expensive institutional facilities minimized, but also that on health manpower. From the point of view of the nation's health, it is most important that the time of doctors and training personnel should be used to the best advantage. If we consider the long years spent and the high cost of train-

ing doctors and nurses, it is obviously uneconomic to employ personnel attending the sick if the sickness could have been prevented. Home care services are therefore essential to the nation's economy, and, properly used, are also a valuable source of preventive medicine.

HOME NURSE

One of the most effective services in the home is that of the visiting nurse. There is a long tradition of service in the United Kingdom from the home or district nurse. Until the passing of the National Health Service Act (1948) this was a service of fully trained nurses organized by a voluntary society—the well-known Queen's Institute of District Nursing (founded in 1889). These nurses visit the sick in their own homes, sometimes several times a day, and carry out the directions given by the patient's own doctor. Although this is now part of the National Health Service, the Institute continues to provide nurses for the local health authority.

The District Nurse is a real friend, particularly in rural areas, where she is a cherished member of the village community. To the elderly who are frail and lonely she is a real guide and philosopher and a link with the outside world. Today she is often hard pressed, because of the general scarcity of trained nurses, to fulfill the many calls on her time; and the two great voluntary societies whose charter calls them to care for the sick—the British Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Brigade—have in some areas developed a Nursing Aid Service which works through the official scheme by performing simple nursing tasks in order to relieve the fully trained nurse for more expert work.

HOME HELPS

For thirty years in the United Kingdom there has been a Home Help Service for maternity cases. During World War II acute illness and other emergencies induced the government to authorize the extension of this scheme to other types of cases. During the war also the value of the Home Help Service for aged people was demonstrated by the Old People's Welfare Committee of the Plymouth Council of Social Service. This voluntary body started in 1941 to recruit and employ women to help those whose increasing infirmity made domestic work a problem. The scheme proved two things: (1) what a boon this service could be in preventing deterioration in personal hygiene and in the care of the home, and (2) that this type of service appealed to women, who came to look upon it as a service rather than as a job.

The Plymouth Scheme started with two part-time Home Helps. Now there is an average of 70 Home Helps, looking after 440 old people, averaging 1,850 hours' work each week. It is now operated by the Old People's Welfare Committee for the local health authority.

Increasing powers to extend the scope of the official scheme were gradually given by a number of Circulars from the Ministry of Health (179/44 and 110/46) and have now been brought together under Section 29 of the National Health Service Act (1948), and today old people are able to look for this help along with the rest of the community. It is interesting to note that recent figures given by the National Association of Home Help Organisers show that 75 per cent of the domestic help is in fact going to assist old people to remain in their own homes.

The local authority either operates the service through its own organizer or grants aid to a voluntary society to operate it—for example, Women's Voluntary Services. The organizer recruits the Home Helps, looks up references, and visits the homes requiring help and assesses the amount of help required. She chooses the Home Help to suit the home, and thereafter keeps a check on the service provided. Scales of payment are determined by each local authority, but those who cannot afford the charge are assessed and the whole or part of the cost is borne by the local authority.

The value of this service to an old person cannot be overestimated. To many, the provision of this domestic help means that they can stay in their own home surroundings, with their own personal possessions, and continue to live a normal, independent life, when otherwise they would have to be removed to a communal home.

The gradual increase of infirmity obviously makes the ordinary work of keeping a home clean and up to standard more and more difficult. Too often in the past, and even today, we have found too late the solitary person whose infirmity has prevented the continuance of a high standard of personal cleanliness and home care. The resulting unhappiness and serious consequences to health need no emphasis and the value of the Home Help Service as preventive medicine cannot be overestimated.

The Home Help goes from case to case, like a visiting nurse, but she does domestic work; she cleans rooms, makes beds, carries down ashes and slops, and carries up coal and water. If required, she can do shopping or provide a simple meal. Sometimes only an hour a week is needed for a fairly able-bodied old person; sometimes an hour daily. The organizer will pair off

suitable Home Helps and cases—a quiet woman to someone with heart trouble, an understanding one to a difficult or awkward character.

COST OF HOME HELP SERVICE

This service is expanding very rapidly, but in some areas there is a shortage of Home Helps, not always due to the difficulty of recruiting, but also to the fact that in some districts the local authority has had to restrict the service because of the cost.

There are some who feel that the Home Help Service is being used to care for patients who should be cared for in hospitals, and that therefore the Regional Hospital Board should contribute towards the cost of the service. It can also be argued that the Regional Hospital Board should contribute because patients can leave hospitals sooner and so free beds more quickly if the Home Help Service and other home care is readily available, and because if we compare the figure of between £8 and £15 per week per bed in a hospital with the cost of home care, including Home Help and domestic service, estimated at about £3,⁴ we find there is a saving of between £5 and £10 for the hospital. It has also been suggested that the National Assistance Board should pay for domestic help to those who are in receipt of assistance grants. Viewed as a whole, however, there is no doubt that it is far more expensive to maintain a patient in a hospital or even in most residential communal homes than to provide care for them in their own homes.

THE HEALTH VISITOR

The Health Visitor is an experienced nurse who has completed an approved course of instruction in medico-social work. She works under the local health

⁴ *Hansard*, June 7, 1951.

authority as a nurse with special training in health education, child welfare, and social work. Her knowledge of social contacts affecting the welfare of the family often means that she is the first person to become aware of the needs of old people, and she is in a unique position to judge how far these needs can be met by adjustment within the family circle. When the aged are physically ill, it is the Health Visitor's duty to:

(a) co-operate fully with the general practitioner, almoner, home nurse and/or geriatric unit in treatment, to assist in procuring domestic help, loan of equipment, and rehabilitation;

(b) assess the need for admission to hospital on social grounds and the suitability of the home for ultimate discharge;

(c) to promote good neighbourliness and link those willing to give service with those in need of help.⁵

It is clear that the Health Visitor can do much towards helping the old person to maintain his capacity to live independently.

VOLUNTARY SERVICES

So far we have been describing what might be called the professional services for the aged; but in the United Kingdom a real opportunity for the voluntary societies, and for the ordinary "lay" citizen, to help and supplement these services has been eagerly seized upon.

The number of professional workers is necessarily limited, and they should by rights be kept for those old people who need professional care. In the United Kingdom today there are found numbers of old people who are isolated and lonely and who need a friend more than anything else. If a voluntary worker can be found who will drop in

regularly and chat, say once a week, who knows how valuable a form of preventive medicine this may prove to be? Too often old people are found who do not know of the services that are available to them. They do not know how to contact the National Assistance Board if they are in financial need; they do not know how to contact the Home Nurse or the Home Help. Many of them are found to be quite out of touch with everyone and to have no contact with a doctor or anyone in the outside world. Such a person "turns in on himself" and is unable to make any contribution to the community. His own future rapidly becomes a nightmare which he can discuss with no one, and the very dread of infirmity may itself cause illness which brings the long-dreaded state of helplessness.

So it is important to count among the valuable home care services the contact of friendly visits carried out by many voluntary societies and to know the value of the clubs for old people which are springing up all over the United Kingdom. Members of such clubs are never isolated, for if they miss a club meeting someone will make it his business to go and find out the reason. If a member falls ill, other members will visit while the sick one is in a hospital or in bed at home, and when he comes out of the hospital someone will have been to see that the house or room is ready and clean for him. These facts, together with the psychological effect that the interest of membership in a club for old people brings, make this, too, come into the category of home care.

There are other services, such as chiropody and mobile physiotherapy, which voluntary agencies⁶ and local authorities are trying to arrange. Neither of these services comes under the

⁵ Royal College of Nursing, *The Duties of the Health Visitor in the National Health Service*, 1950.

⁶ For instance, some local branches of Queen's Institute of District Nursing.

National Health Service at present unless it is given within the hospital. Chiropody in particular is found to be of great importance in the relief it brings, for with the increased activity comes more opportunity for going out, for managing shopping and cleaning. How much of the malnutrition which is found among the aged when they are admitted to hospitals is due to the fact that painful feet have prevented them from making the necessary effort to purchase and cook the foods required for health? The once active old person easily becomes isolated through inactivity caused by lack of attention to feet.

EFFECT ON DEMAND FOR BED SERVICE

Unfortunately there are as yet no figures available to show the measurable saving on demands for hospital beds brought about by such services as we have been describing. The figures so far obtained in the United Kingdom are local, though very interesting. Far more research is needed before national figures can be obtained, and it is to be hoped that this research will soon be forthcoming; for without it, it will not be easy to persuade public opinion to press for more home care as part of the integrated pattern of care for the elderly.

EFFECT ON INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES

If the capacity for living independently can be fostered and assisted, the individual old person will be far happier and will be able to make his contribution to the community in many ways. The effect of such a policy on

his relations will be, we may hope, a tightening of the bonds of family affection. Today there seems to be a tendency to be unwilling to accept the responsibility of caring for the older members of the family. This is surely due in part to the strain imposed on the small family when home care services are insufficient and hospital beds hard to obtain. The strain of caring for the present needs of the elderly is increased by anxiety as to the care that may be needed in the future.

If we consider the increasing numbers of old people in the population today, we shall see the problem in its correct setting. "Between 1871 and 1947, the number of people over 65 in Great Britain increased fourfold, and the proportion rose from 4.8 per cent to 10.4 per cent."⁷ We are told that the number of people over 65 will grow steadily over the next thirty years and increase to at least 2.3 millions and very probably much more. This will of course increase the proportion of old people to the total.⁸

This makes the position of old people and their proper care of the greatest consequence to the balance of the community. Unless we can give to the old their proper place, the whole community will be thrown out of balance in trying to care for them. The matter is one of national, and possibly international, importance, economically and socially, as well as being fundamental to the happiness of thousands of individuals.

⁷ Royal Commission on Population Report, Par. 640.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Par. 248 (iv).

Dorothea Ramsey, M.B.E., London, England, is secretary of the National Old People's Welfare Committee, a private agency co-ordinating work for the aged throughout the British Isles. She has been engaged in work for the elderly since 1940. She recently spent three months in the United States at the invitation of the Department of State, and was an official delegate from the United Kingdom at the Second International Gerontological Congress in St. Louis in September 1951.

Keeping Older People Fit for Participation

By MARY E. SWITZER and HOWARD A. RUSK

Vanity is to wish a long life and take but little pains about a good life.—Thomas a Kempis¹

WHEN asked at the beginning of 1950 to comment on the events of greatest significance which had occurred in the first half of this century, Mr. Bernard M. Baruch listed the increase of man's life span by eighteen years in a period of fifty as having even more profound medical, economic, and social implications than such things as atomic energy, air transportation, and communication.²

The lengthening of man's life span has traditionally been one of the primary objectives of medicine and the other health professions. Ironically, however, the achievement of this objective with increasing success year after year has created new and mounting problems not only for the health professions but for all aspects of our culture.

THE EXTENT OF CHRONIC ILLNESS

Seventy-five years ago chronic diseases caused one-fifteenth of all deaths; they are now responsible for as much as three-fourths. Added to these increased death rates is the tremendous long-term toll of chronic illness and disability. Acute infectious disease usually results in rapid recovery or death, but chronic illness may linger for years. Its social and economic costs cannot be measured by mortality tables alone.

¹ *Imitation of Christ*, Chap. I, p. 14.

² In the first half of this article we have drawn heavily on an article by Howard A. Rusk and Eugene J. Taylor, "Rehabilitation," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 273 (January 1951), pp. 138-143.

As our population becomes older, it can be expected that the prevalence of chronic disease and its resultant physical disability will increase correspondingly; studies indicate that the higher the age group, the greater the percentage of chronic disease and disability. The National Health Survey of 1935-36 showed the following numbers of persons with a chronic disease or impairment on a given day per 1,000 population: over 65 years of age, 515; aged 45 to 64, 309; aged 20 to 44, 177; aged 5 to 19, 70; and under age 5, 34.

In the twenty-year study that the Public Health Service conducted among 1,822 white families in Hagerstown, Maryland, it was found that the five-year incidence rate of chronic disease and major impairments at age 25 was about 35 for every 1,000 persons; and gradually rose till at age 45 it was about 100 per 1,000. After that there was a much steeper climb, reaching nearly 250 per 1,000 at age 60, more than 500 per 1,000 at age 80, and more than 900 per 1,000 at age 90.

More recent data on disability are available from a special survey made in February 1949 by three units of the Federal Security Agency through the sampling facilities of the Bureau of the Census. This survey, based on the civilian noninstitutional population aged 14-64, revealed that the prevalence of disability lasting for seven months or more increased slowly through the age group 35-44 and then rose sharply. The percentage disabled for seven months or more was 0.86 for the age

group 14-19; 0.95 for the group aged 20-24; 1.04 for the 25-34 group; 1.44 for the 35-44 group; 3.01 for the 45-54 group; and 6.16 for the 55-64 group. A recent study of the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance estimated that between two-thirds and three-fourths of those currently receiving old-age insurance benefits—men and women 65 years and over—are disabled when considered in terms of their ability to work full time at their usual occupations.

CHRONIC ILLNESS AND ECONOMIC STATUS

The incidence of chronic disease and its resultant disability is definitely related to economic status. It occurs most frequently among families of low income, and when it strikes, results in further reduced income and depletion of financial reserves. In the National Health Survey of 1935-36, chronic illness, disabling for one week or longer, was found to occur nearly twice as frequently among persons on relief as among those earning \$3,000 a year or more.

A more recent study in Illinois showed that 23 per cent of all public assistance recipients were chronic invalids. In Connecticut the percentage was 20 and in New Jersey 38. In New York 37 per cent of those receiving old-age pensions suffer from some form of chronic illness—just double the average for their age group. The fear of chronic disease and disability is the most haunting specter of increasing age.

LACK OF SERVICES FOR THE CHRONICALLY ILL

Except for those with pulmonary tuberculosis or mental illness, there are

no well-planned and integrated services for most of the chronically ill aged. They find refuge in general hospitals, convalescent homes, homes for the aged, and the back bedrooms of relatives.

Much of the acute financial plight of both municipal and voluntary hospitals is caused by the increasing numbers of the chronically ill who enter the hospitals and stay for long periods. Dr. Edward M. Bernecker, former Commissioner of Hospitals in New York City, has reported that 22.5 per cent of the general care beds in municipal hospitals in New York City are occupied by patients with long-term illnesses. The percentage in voluntary hospitals is said to be around 20. In a survey in Syracuse, New York, it was found that 84 per cent of 902 successive patients in medical wards were chronically ill.

It is agreed that a great many of the chronically ill must have general hospital care initially. Many, however, remain in the hospital purely because of the lack of any place to which they can go if they are discharged. Convalescent or nursing homes are totally inadequate to meet the need, and patients discharged to their homes, where there are no facilities for their care, frequently must be readmitted to the hospital.

PROBLEMS OF REHABILITATION

Until medicine finds the specific answers to the problems of the diseases of the heart and circulation, rheumatic fever and arthritis, cerebral palsy, multiple sclerosis, poliomyelitis, and the other crippling diseases, we must utilize the techniques of physical rehabilitation, psychology, social service, vocational counseling, and the auxiliary specialties to teach the disabled to live within the limits of their disabilities but to the full extent of their capacities.

Although we have in this country the

finest institutions in the world for medical care and for vocational training, there are, outside of the military services and the Veterans Administration, but a small handful of civilian agencies and organizations equipped to provide for the physically disabled the necessary retraining in physical skills which is a requisite for later vocational training. The physician has thought too much about the physiologic and clinical aspects of the patient's disability. The vocational counselor too frequently has thought only in terms of physical skills which could be utilized vocationally. Between the two, however, there is a wide area through which most physically handicapped persons must go when their medical care is completed but before they are ready to undergo vocational training or retraining. In this area lies the physical retraining in skills necessary for the carrying on of the activities inherent in daily living and common to all types of work.

Except in a few isolated instances, the physically handicapped person must be retrained to walk and travel, to care for his daily needs, to use normal methods of transportation, to use ordinary toilet facilities, to apply and remove his own prosthetic devices, and to communicate either orally or in writing. These are such simple things that they are frequently overlooked; but the personal, vocational, and social success of the handicapped person is dependent on them.

Today in our medical schools, hospitals, and scientific laboratories we are learning much through research in the physiological aspects of aging. This is useful and valuable, but we are failing to put equal emphasis on the psychological, social, and vocational aspects. The listings of current university research on gerontology carry such titles as "Nucleocytoplasmic Ratio of Differ-

ent Ages in the Liver of Rats," "Mitochondrial Morphology in Arrangement of the Glandular Tissue of Rats," and "Aging Changes in Vascular Tissue of Human Subjects." This research "from the cell up" has important implications, but unfortunately we do too little research "from man as a human down."

With the tide of chronic disability which threatens to engulf us medically, socially, and economically, we must redouble our efforts to see that the lag between that which we already know and its application to those whom it would benefit is reduced.

POSSIBILITIES OF REHABILITATION

One of the great needs is provision for total treatment of the chronically ill patient in terms of his whole problem. Many such patients can be rehabilitated to the extent of employability, and a great percentage of the others can be brought to the point of sufficient self-care to enable them to live at home, requiring a minimum of aid from other members of the family.

Both the Veterans Administration and some civilian hospital programs have demonstrated that rehabilitation to the point of self-care, and even to full or limited employment, is possible for many of the chronically ill who have been hospitalized over long periods.

Typical results obtained by the Veterans Administration are shown by a study of 130 chronic neurologic patients in one hospital, all but two of whom were World War I veterans, and many of whom had not been out of bed in ten years. After nine months of medical rehabilitation, 25 had left the hospital and were employed; 40 others had been discharged to their homes capable of light work; and of those remaining, 30 were ambulatory and undergoing advanced rehabilitation and 25

were capable of some self-care. All but 10 of the group had shown worthwhile permanent improvement. With a five-year life expectancy of these patients, and per-patient-day hospitalization cost of over \$12, rehabilitation of this one group has saved the government, and eventually the taxpayer, over \$1,250,000. It would seem logical that a similar program for the civilian chronically ill would result in comparative savings.

In another study at the Veterans Administration Hospital at Manhattan Beach in Brooklyn, through rehabilitation, 74 of a group of 126 patients suffering from such diseases as arthritis, multiple sclerosis, paralysis, and Buerger's, Parkinson's and heart diseases have been discharged from the hospital and are now at home taking care of themselves. All but 13 of the original 126 patients have recovered all or part of their ability for self-care. At the beginning of this program, 83 of these veterans were "completely hopeless"; but 49 of that group have been rehabilitated to the point of complete independence, and the rest are capable of self-care. However, in most of our civilian hospitals, the patient receives no such services. Hospitals complain that the chronically ill are responsible for their crowding, but they do little to provide many with the training services that will permit them to leave the hospital.

That many general hospitals recognize their limitations is shown by a study made in New York State on the medical, social, and institutional aspects of chronic illness. Although almost 70 per cent of the 139 hospitals surveyed accepted chronic patients, relatively few had specialized departments for their care. The great majority frankly admitted trying to avoid their admission.

THE PROBLEM OF RESOURCES

The problem of providing an integrated service for the chronically ill is a complex one. It affects tremendous numbers of persons, numerous diseases and types of disabilities, various types of medical and semimedical institutions, and, particularly, all community service agencies. There is one facet of the problem that stands out glaringly at the present time. That is the need in our general hospitals for dynamic training programs to enable many of the so-called chronic invalids to live independently within their own homes.

In searching for resources which can be redirected toward the growing problem of chronic disability associated with aging, many states have turned toward the utilization of the county home. The almshouse, poor farm, or county home in this country has been traditionally regarded by self-respecting individuals as "the end of the road." Its residents and their relatives have long borne the painful social stigma of destitution or pauperism. Years ago, and unfortunately still in some isolated instances, the county home was the dumping ground for all those who could not compete economically or socially with normal society. Its "inmates" consisted of homeless children, healthy but inadequate indigents, the sick, the insane, the senile, and the feeble-minded. They had but one common characteristic—they were destitute.

Today such practices are universally recognized as being socially undesirable, and specialized institutions have been found to meet the needs of the various groups who formerly lived in the county home. Mothers' pensions, old-age assistance, and other aid programs provided by the federal Social Security Act and state programs also have materially

altered the population of public homes. As a result, the function of county homes has changed, and today they are primarily homes for the aged and the chronically ill.

THE NEEDS OF THE AGED

As several studies have brought out, accessibility and privacy are two of the main factors to be taken into consideration in converting public homes into facilities for the chronically ill. Aged patients fear isolation and want to be where their friends and relatives can visit them, and where they can shop, go to the movies, and see friends. They want a place in which to keep their possessions, and to live, if possible, in a private room or small dormitory—a place where they can live in dignity.

This, however, is not enough. The older person who must live an institutional life must also have the opportunity to do something purposeful and constructive. The majority of older persons have worked steadily and industriously in a society that respects only the productive. The ending of ability to do gainful work is, for most, a tragedy; it symbolizes the end of independence and purpose in life.

By failing to utilize activity, we have neglected one of the most valuable tools in the management of the chronically ill and aged. All who have gone through an institution have noted the apathy and hopelessness of the residents. There are always a few, however, who are bright and alert. They are the residents who have voluntarily assumed or have been assigned to tasks within their physical capacities.

The use of selective placement, whereby the physical capacities of the individual are matched against the physical demands of the job, can be used in an institution as well as in in-

dustry. Even though their disabilities may be severe, the great majority of the residents of public homes can do some tasks about the home. For some, it may be only simple housekeeping assistance; others have the ability and the experience to assume greater responsibilities.

If the aged and the chronically ill are to have the comfort, security, dignity, and companionship that should be the heritage of every older person, public homes must provide them with cheerful, attractive surroundings, as much privacy as possible, a place for their belongings, opportunities for recreation and social activities, and a chance to do something productive.

With the introduction of rehabilitation programs in general hospitals, and increased facilities for effective convalescent care and home care programs of medical; social; visiting nurse, and visiting housekeeper services, many of the aged and chronically ill will not need to seek admittance to public homes. Many present residents could also be restored to either employment or self-care with suitable rehabilitation programs.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

The Federal-State Vocational Rehabilitation Program is giving increased attention to the aged handicapped person who could remain in or re-enter the labor force if provided co-ordinated services directed to his particular problems. Except for the program for veterans with service-connected disabilities, this is the only public program of vocational rehabilitation. This program serves all segments of the population, including the aged who are handicapped. The services available through the program include counseling, vocational and personal adjustment, vocational diag-

nosis, physical restoration, vocational training or retraining, and other services to restore work capacity. After the provision of these restorative services, assistance is given in finding employment suited to the individual's capacities and abilities.

Vast expansion of this program is needed, however, if we are to meet adequately the needs of the hundreds of thousands of disabled aged persons who are with us today and who tomorrow will be with us in even greater numbers. There is urgent need for rehabilitation centers to provide co-ordinated restorative services, for workshops for building work tolerance and providing useful and productive employment for those who are not able to enter the competitive labor market, and for research to develop and test new techniques and methods.

It is estimated that about 10 per cent of the current labor force at all age levels has significant physical impairments that must be taken into consideration in job placement. Using selective placement techniques in which the physical capacities of the individual are matched against the physical demands of the job, these less severely handicapped individuals do not present great placement problems. The older person with a chronic disability, however, has two strikes against him when he seeks employment—his age and his disability.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

It is the discrimination based on lack of understanding, which is discussed in greater detail in the article by Mr. Abrams, that prevents the older worker with a disability from getting a job—not his lack of ability. Statistical data on the productivity of older workers compared to younger workers in the same occupation are almost entirely

lacking. Several studies, however, have shown that older workers, even those with disabilities, make reliable and safe employees.

Among the most significant of these was one survey of the work records of 17,800 employees in 109 companies in which the absenteeism rate decreased consistently as age increased. In every age group above 50 years, employees lost fewer scheduled workdays than those in any age group below 50. Disabling injuries reached their peak at about age 41 and then declined continuously until age 75, except for a slight rise between 50 and 55. The peak of nondisabling injuries came at about age 26 and then declined steadily and sharply all the way to age 75, when they amounted to one-third of the peak number.

Nor is it true that older workers cannot be retrained for new operations. Many industrial programs during the last war demonstrated that with careful, selective placement and with simple changing of engineering design, many of the jobs formerly assigned to younger workers could successfully be performed by older people.

The experience of the Federal-State Vocational Rehabilitation Program has shown that even disabled persons in the older age groups can become independent wage earners if they are given proper services. In 1949 its agencies gave services to 12,469 persons aged 45-64 and 931 persons over 65. Prior to rehabilitation, two-thirds of this group were unemployed; after their rehabilitation, the average weekly earnings of the 45-64 group were about \$35, and of the over-65 group, about \$28.

Of the 11,000,000 persons over 65 in 1948, about 3,500,000 had no money income of their own. Of the 7,500,000 with some money income, almost one-third had incomes of less than \$500.

It is significant, however, that employment constitutes the major source of income for the 65-plus age group. Almost half of the older workers work for themselves, as compared with one in five in the total male working force. They are more frequently farmers, proprietors, managers, officials, and service workers. Fewer are found as clerks, sales personnel, craftsmen, foremen, and machine operators.

Although the great industrial concerns have thousands of jobs which older persons can successfully perform, we must remember that "big business" actually hires only a fraction of America's workers. About 70 to 75 per cent of the nation's workers are employed in the 99 per cent of the industrial plants in the nation which have fewer than 500 employes. It is to small industry, commerce, and the service trades that the great majority of older workers must turn if they expect to be successful in finding new jobs in competitive industry.

FACTORS OF THE "GOOD LIFE"

These facts and figures underline the responsibility of all agencies, public and private, to show the way to the mature handling of this problem in the years ahead. Its magnitude makes the teamwork of these agencies even more essential in developing services for our older citizens than has been true in many other health and welfare fields. The core of our theme—"to take pains about the good life"—demands a balanced consideration of all factors that make for total security, economic, social, spiritual.

The national government may find its role to be primarily in the broad areas of income maintenance, in cooperation with states and local communities in the welfare field and with

the whole working population in the old-age insurance field. Federal support will also be needed to stimulate research into the medical and social methods essential to aid the individual in having "the good life" from age 60 to 80 as well as from age 30 to 60. But, as has been true traditionally in our country, it will be the voluntary institutions—hospitals, community groups, and religious organizations—that, by virtue of their close ties with their people, can point the way to precise methods to accomplish our ideal. Housing for older people, particularly for those living on old-age pensions, is one of the most difficult problems to solve in our society. The federal government should have a broad program, working with all forces in the housing field, both public and private, to meet more nearly the needs of older people.

The importance of chronic diseases in older people places on hospitals treating chronic patients a major responsibility for research into their treatment and rehabilitation. No more fruitful endeavor can be undertaken than the continued effort to find ways and means to ensure that the chronically ill shall be as nearly self-sustaining as modern medical knowledge can make them. Physicians dealing with people as patients all through life will be an important influence in guiding us to "embrace old age proudly" and with the conviction that it is the crowning glory of life. Teachers will show their charges that each stage of life has its special compensations. The many voluntary and religious institutions serving the aged must continue experimentation in ways of living to keep fit for participation to the end of life. Colleges and other educational institutions increasingly will need to readjust their programs to put more emphasis on adult education and particularly on education

and the pursuit of knowledge as an enriching influence for a full life.

The traditional relationships which have been built through the years by those interested in health and welfare,

both in and out of government, must be closer and more responsive than ever; for "keeping fit for participation" is the moral responsibility of our whole country.

Mary E. Switzer, Washington, D. C., is director of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Federal Security Agency, having previously served as assistant to the Federal Security Administrator from the time of the establishment of the Federal Security Agency in 1939. From 1934 to 1939 she was assistant to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of the Public Health Service. She is a member of several health and rehabilitation organizations.

Howard A. Rusk, M.D., New York City, is professor and chairman of the Department of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, New York University-Bellevue Medical Center; associate editor of The New York Times; consultant in rehabilitation to the United Nations, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Federal Security Agency, and the New York City Department of Hospitals; and chairman of the Health Resources Advisory Committee of the Office of Defense Mobilization.

Income Maintenance for the Aged

By WILBUR J. COHEN

THE year 1951 was a very important milestone so far as income for the aged was concerned. For the first time in our nation's history the number of persons receiving old-age *insurance* exceeded the number receiving old-age *assistance* (February). Likewise, for the first time, the total amount of insurance payments to aged persons exceeded the amount of old-age assistance payments (August). The number of aged persons on the assistance rolls declined slowly and steadily in 1951 from the high of September 1950, while the number receiving insurance steadily increased (see chart). At the end of 1951, over 4 million persons, representing nearly one-third of the population aged 65 and over,¹ were receiving some form of public insurance benefit or pension or were the wives of such recipients. About 85 to 90 per cent of all persons working for a living were earning credits under some public retirement or pension program.

Despite these noteworthy developments, there are still many aged persons with inadequate incomes, many pressing problems with respect to income for the aged still unsolved or awaiting consideration, and a need for much more information on the economic status of the aged.² Some of the most important of these pressing problems

and future trends will be summarized. The entire area of income for the aged is a very swiftly changing subject. The situation five years ago was very different from that today. As a result of programs recently established or improved, the situation five years from now will have changed markedly from that today.

SOURCES OF INCOME OF THE AGED

Five main sources of income of the aged will be considered: (1) earnings from employment, including self-employment; (2) income from individual savings, individual insurance policies or annuities, or property; (3) benefit payments from public or private insurance or pension programs; (4) assistance payments from public agencies; and (5) assistance from voluntary agencies, friends, or relatives.

Employment

About 2.9 million, or a little less than one-fourth of all persons aged 65 and over, are employed in an average week at the present time.³ Of this number 2.3 million are men and 0.6 million are women. In addition, there are about 0.9 million women aged 65 and over who are the wives of aged earners. Thus, about 3.8 million aged persons representing a little less than one-third of all the aged were in receipt of earn-

¹ In this article it is assumed that the number of persons aged 65 and over was 12.3 million in April 1950, was about 12.6 million in mid-1951 and will be about 13.0 million in December 1952.

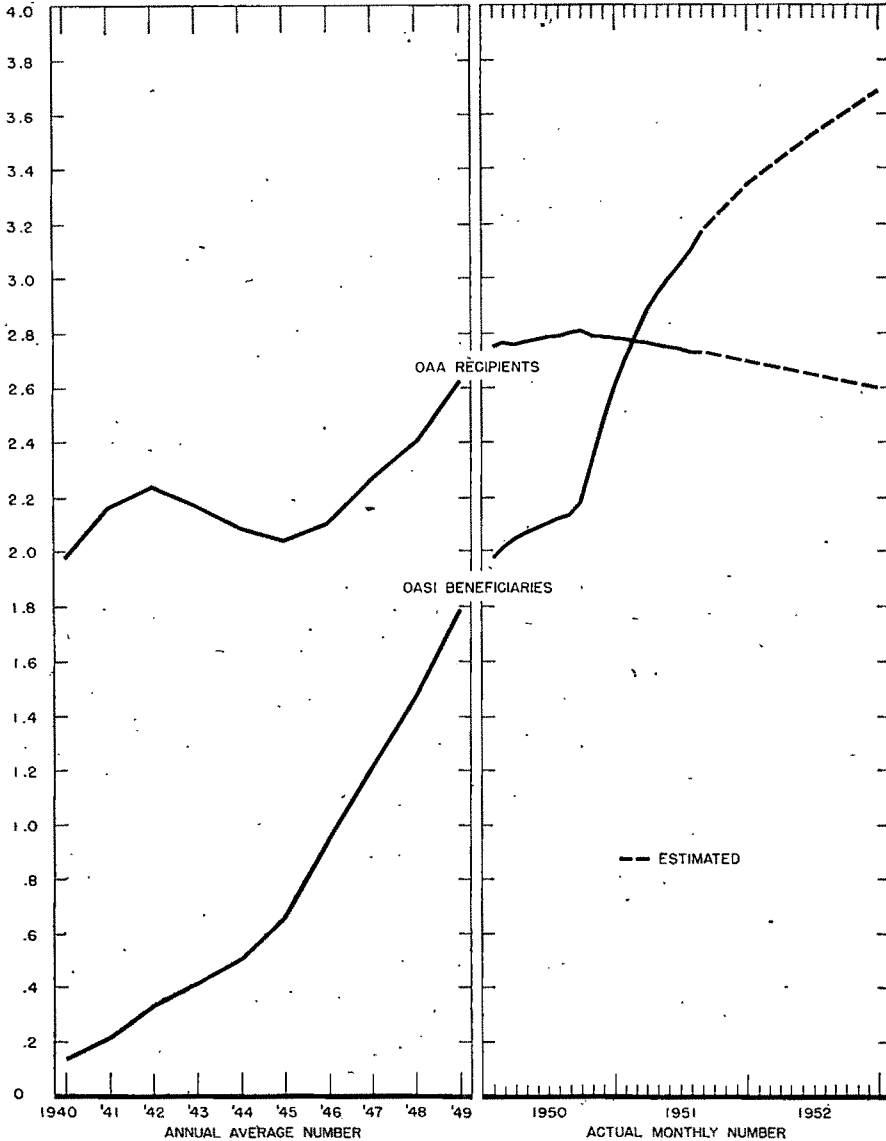
² For further research which is necessary, see National Conference on Aging, Washington, D. C., 1950, *Man and His Years* (Raleigh, N. C.: Health Publications Institute, 1951), pp. 60-64.

³ This figure greatly understates the number who work during the year. The number during the year is nearly 725,000 more than the average number employed during the year "Work Experience of the Population in 1949," *Current Population Reports, Labor Force*, Bureau of the Census, Series P-50, No. 24.

INCOME MAINTENANCE PROGRAMS FOR THE AGED, 1940-1952

OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE INCREASED IRREGULARLY UNTIL 1950 AND IS NOW DECLINING SLOWLY. OLD-AGE INSURANCE INCREASED RAPIDLY AND, AS THE RESULT OF THE 1950 AMENDMENTS, BECAME THE LARGER OF THE TWO INCOME MAINTENANCE PROGRAMS EARLY IN 1951.

MILLIONS OF PERSONS 65 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER



ings from employment or were the wives of earners.

There is some reason to believe that because of manpower needs during the

present defense period, the number of aged persons employed during the next few years will increase. There is considerable doubt as to the long-time

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PERSONS, AGED 65 AND OVER, RECEIVING INCOME FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES, DECEMBER 1940, 1945, 1950, AND 1952.^a
(In millions) [©]

Source of Income	December 1940	December 1945	December 1950	December 1952
Total population 65 years and over	9.1	10.2	12.3	13.0
Employment	2.8	3.7	3.7	4.0
Earners	2.1	2.8	2.8	3.0
Wives of earners	.7	.9	.9	1.0
Social insurance and related programs				
Old-age and survivors insurance	.1	.8	2.6	3.7
Railroad retirement	.1	.2	.3	.3
Federal civil-service retirement	^b	.1	.1	.1
Veterans' program	.2	.3	.3	.3
Other ^c	.2	.3	.4	.4
Old-age assistance	2.1	2.1	2.8	2.6

^a Some persons received income from more than one of the sources listed.

^b Less than 50,000.

^c Federal employee retirement programs other than civil service; state and local government retirement programs; wives of male beneficiaries of programs other than old-age and survivors insurance.

SOURCE: Data for 1940, 1945, and 1950 from *Social Security Bulletin*, June 1950, p. 16, and June 1951, p. 19. Data for 1952 estimated by author.

trend.⁴ In 1890 a little more than two-thirds of the aged men were in the labor force; this proportion dropped to about 54 per cent in 1930, to 42 per cent in 1940, rose to about 50 per cent in 1944-45, and declined to nearly the 1940 level by 1950. In June 1951 the proportion was about 43 per cent. The decline from 1944-45 to 1951 was largely a reflection of the failure of employment opportunities to keep pace with the gain in the size of the aged population, rather than a drop in the absolute number of aged workers, which remained at about the wartime levels. If the 1920-50 trend continues, the percentage of aged men in employment will drop by 1975 to 35 per cent.⁵

For older persons who are able to

⁴ According to Peter F. Drucker, manpower shortages and public pressures will compel the employment of more older workers during the coming decades. "Population Trends and Management Policy," *Harvard Business Review*, May 1951, pp. 75-76.

⁵ Harold Wool, "Long-Term Projections of the Labor Force," paper presented before Con-

work and want to work, employment can be both a satisfying means of securing an income and the most productive as far as the economy is concerned. The value to the national economy of the services of the aged who are now working is about \$10 to \$12 billion per year. If the wartime proportion were again reached, perhaps about 500,000 additional aged persons would be working, which would increase the national production about \$1.5 billion annually, while at the same time the costs of relief and insurance benefits for the aged would be reduced.

Savings, annuities, property

Only very scanty information exists on the amount of income available to the aged from their own savings, or from individual annuities or private insurance they purchased, or from property or investments. From various in-

ference on Income and Wealth, National Bureau of Economic Research, New York City, May 25, 1951, Table 5.

formation available it seems that about 800,000 aged persons were receiving insurance company annuities in 1950 exclusive of any payments under any group retirement or annuity programs. The average payment was about \$40 per month.

About 46 per cent of all spending units in which the head of such unit was 65 and over saved some of their income in 1950; 19 per cent came out even; and 35 per cent had expenditures in excess of income.⁶ Surveys made of the income and assets of old-age and survivors insurance beneficiaries suggest that about half of the commercial and industrial workers who have retired in recent years have some assets other than an equity in a home, but that such assets typically are small. In the areas studied, between only a sixth and a fourth of the retired male workers had assets enough to last for their life expectancy if withdrawn at the rate of \$25 a month.

Perhaps it would be fair to say, in conclusion, that while available data are not very satisfactory, they suggest that most people do save, in various amounts, and that in recent years about half the aged have been able to accumulate some savings. Such savings are generally small, and for most persons are not large enough to provide a significant resource in old age.

Insurance and pension plans

About four million aged people are now receiving regular monthly payments under some type of public or private group insurance retirement, pension, or annuity plan. Of this number, about three million persons are drawing benefits under the federal old-age and survivors insurance program,

⁶ "1951 Survey of Consumer Finances," *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, September 1951, Table 3, p. 1063.

and one million under some other program.

There are probably about 350,000 persons drawing retirement benefits or annuities from private employer plans or collective bargaining plans. These benefits probably average about \$55 per month. However, a very large proportion of the persons receiving such benefits are also receiving benefits under one of the public insurance or retirement programs.

The number receiving insurance benefits will continue to grow in the future. By the end of 1952, it is estimated that there will be about 3.7 million persons receiving federal old-age and survivors insurance benefits. This number will increase to about 5.5 million by 1960 and continue growing steadily for many years thereafter.

Public assistance

About 2,700,000 needy aged persons are receiving assistance. This represents about 22 per cent of the aged population. While the number of aged on assistance is much higher than it was ten years ago, the proportion of all aged persons on assistance has slightly declined. From a high of 2.8 million in September 1950, old-age assistance rolls have declined about 5,000 to 10,000 a month. A more detailed discussion of assistance is given later in this article.

Contributions from relatives

Only the most fragmentary and incomplete information exists on the contributions received by aged persons from their children, other relatives, or friends.⁷ Some information exists which

⁷ Incomplete information also exists on the number of aged persons in nursing homes, hospitals, and other institutions. The number is probably close to 400,000 but we do not know to what extent these persons have some income of their own or are supported by relatives or from public funds.

indicates that a number of individuals receiving old-age assistance also receive some contributions from relatives,⁸ but the proportion is currently not known. The number of such beneficiaries receiving cash contributions is probably very small, but contributions in kind such as shelter and medical and other services are probably more extensive. However, information is not available on the extent of such contributions to aged persons not receiving assistance. It is generally assumed that there must be at least 2 or 3 million aged persons being supported wholly or in large part by their children or other relatives, and a large additional number receiving partial support from children or other relatives.

INCOME DISTRIBUTION

In 1948, about 9,200,000 of the 11 million aged had some income or were the wives of individuals with some income.⁹ However there were wide variations in the amount of income. Information available to date does not give an accurate picture of income or resources of the aged,¹⁰ and it is evident

⁸ "Children's Contribution to Old Age Assistance Recipients in North Dakota and South Dakota," *Social Security Bulletin*, August 1951; *Requirements and Incomes of Recipients of Old Age Assistance in 21 States in 1944*, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration.

⁹ Jacob Fisher, "Income of Aged Persons, 1948," *Social Security Bulletin*, July 1951.

¹⁰ For over fifteen years there have been various attempts to analyze the economic status of the aged. Some indication of the difficulty of the task, the gaps in the available information, and the differences in approach in analyzing the data, can be obtained by studying some of these attempts. See Marjorie Shearon, "Economic Status of the Aged," *Social Security Bulletin*, March 1938; Barkev S. Sanders, "Economic Status of the Aged in Urban Households," *Social Security Bulletin*, October 1940; *Hearings before the Senate Special Committee to Investigate the Old Age Pension System*, pursuant

that existing information tends to understate income and assets. Nevertheless, it is clear that a very large number of the aged have a very modest cash income. Omitting those without any income of their own, including wives of income recipients, available statistics for 1948 show that out of the remaining 8,000,000 aged there were approximately:

2,500,000	with under \$500 for the year
2,300,000	with \$500 to \$999
1,600,000	with \$1,000 to \$1,999
750,000	with \$2,000 to \$2,999
500,000	with \$3,000 to \$4,999
200,000	with \$5,000 to \$9,999
100,000	with \$10,000 or more

The Social Security Administration, in co-operation with the Bureau of Labor Statistics, has worked out budget estimates to show what it costs an elderly couple to maintain a "modest but adequate" level of living in an urban area. These estimates, as of October 1950, ranged from \$1,620 in Mobile, Alabama to \$1,908 in Milwaukee.

It is clear from these statistics that much remains to be done to improve the economic status of the aged.

SUMMARY OF PRESENT PROGRAM

Federal old-age and survivors insurance

The federally administered old-age and survivors insurance program now covers most employees in commerce and industry, self-employment (other than in farming and certain professions); certain employees of federal, state and local governments not covered under a retirement system, employees of non-profit organizations, regularly employed farm workers, and regularly employed

to S. Res. 129, 76th Cong., 1st sess., 1941; *Hearings before the Senate Committee on Finance* on S. 1932, 76th Cong., 1st sess., 1941; *Issues in Social Security*; A Report to the House Committee on Ways and Means, 1946, pp. 268-71.

domestic workers in private homes. Approximately three-fourths of the nation's gainfully employed are now covered by old-age and survivors insurance. The chief groups not covered are farmers, seasonal and migratory farm workers, domestic workers employed on a day basis, and persons covered under other government retirement systems.

The program provides monthly benefits, related to previous earnings and paid as a matter of right without investigation of need. Approximately 60 million individuals are insured under the program. About 4.2 million persons were drawing insurance benefits in August 1951, of whom 3.2 million were aged persons, 800,000 were children, and 200,000 were widowed mothers of the children receiving insurance benefits.

The average benefit for retired workers is currently about \$42 a month; and for a retired worker and wife, aged 65 and over, \$68. For those retiring in the next few years, the average will be between \$50 and \$60 for an individual, and between \$80 and \$90 for a man and wife. The minimum monthly benefit is \$20 for a single individual and \$30 for a man and wife. The maximum monthly benefit is \$80 for a single individual, \$120 for a man and wife, and \$150 for a family of three or more persons.

The program is financed by contributions from covered employers and employees. At the present time the contribution rate is 1.5 per cent of pay roll for each. The rate is scheduled to increase to 2 per cent each in 1954 and gradually to 3.25 per cent each in 1970. Self-employed persons are required to contribute three-fourths of the combined employee-employer contribution.

Public assistance

To be eligible for old-age assistance, an individual must meet a test of need. Each state sets its own standards for

determining whether a person is needy. State policies commonly allow recipients to own their homes, have small life and burial insurance policies, or maintain small cash reserves. The amounts and kinds of property that a recipient may have and the circumstances under which he may retain it differ from state to state. In some states, automatic liens are placed on the real property of a recipient so that at his death or that of his surviving spouse the state may recover for assistance granted. Some states require a recipient to surrender title to the property to the state or locality as a condition to receiving aid.

Very great variations are to be found among the states in the number of recipients of old-age assistance in relation to the aged population. In June 1951 the recipient rates ranged from 50 per 1,000 in the District of Columbia to 671 per 1,000 in Louisiana. In general, the states that are predominantly rural—and consequently have least protection from the old-age and survivors insurance system—have the highest recipient rates. These are for the most part states with low fiscal resources and with a relatively large amount of need.

Old-age assistance payments in June 1951 averaged \$43 for the United States, but ranged from \$76 in Colorado to only \$18 in Mississippi and \$7.66 in Puerto Rico. In thirteen states the averages exceeded \$50, the maximum monthly amount in which the federal government will share. In eleven states—all but one in the South—the averages were under \$30. The variations in assistance levels reflect differences among the states in their ability to finance their share of assistance costs and in attitudes toward meeting need.

The federal share of old-age assistance costs in 1950 was 54 per cent, but in individual states it ranged from 75 per cent to 39 per cent. Total expendi-

tures in 1950 for old-age assistance were \$1.5 billion, of which the federal government contributed \$0.8 billion. Under present law the federal government shares in individual assistance payments up to a maximum monthly amount of \$50. The federal share of assistance costs is three-fourths of the first \$20 of the average payment and one-half the balance within the limit on individual payments. Thus, the federal share is highest where payments are lowest. States making payments about \$50 get a relatively low percentage of federal funds, but the amount per case is higher than in the low-payment states.

GENERAL IMPROVEMENTS SUGGESTED

A full discussion of the many changes which are necessary or desirable to improve the income status of aged persons would take many pages. In the limited space available here, it is not possible to enumerate the changes which are necessary in existing private pension plans¹¹ or in public assistance.¹² Nor is it possible to consider the over-all economic and fiscal implications of improving all the various programs for the aged¹³ or the pros and cons of various incentive plans for reducing the extent of premature retirement.¹⁴ Many al-

ternatives have been proposed, and these proposals are in large part controversial and involve many difficult problems of economic, fiscal, social, and political philosophy. In these few pages, only a brief reference can be made to a few of these proposals and issues.

One fact, however, seems quite certain. The United States has accepted the principle that the government acting for all the people is responsible for providing a system of income payments to aged persons. No responsible group is advocating a reversal of this policy. But there is a good deal of difference of opinion as to the most desirable way it should be carried out. In general, there are a number of alternative ways being discussed for improving the situation:

First, there are the advocates of the present contributory insurance plan who urge that the coverage of the program be made universal, that its benefits be liberalized, that the benefits continue to be geared to wages with substantial differentials between benefits to low-paid and higher-paid workers, and that such benefits continue to be paid as a matter of right upon retirement.

Second, there are those who advocate that under such a universal coverage program, all the present aged should be "blanketed in."

Third, there are the advocates of a universal uniform pension (such as the Townsend plan) supported out of earmarked taxes.

Fourth, there are those who advocate a federal assistance program, supported by a general personal income tax, under which benefits would be paid only to persons with income under a stated amount.¹⁵

¹⁵ For the views of advocates of such a plan see Lewis Meriam, *Relief and Social Security*, Brookings Institution, 1946; Senator Hugh Butler, in *Congressional Record*, June 16, October 20, 1950, and January 17,

¹¹ See Robert Ball, "Pension Plans Under Collective Bargaining: An Evaluation of their Social Utility," *Proceedings Second Annual Meeting, Industrial Relations Research Association*, 1949; Wilbur J. Cohen, "Pensions and Welfare Funds Under Wage Stabilization," *Proceedings Fourth Annual Conference on Labor*, New York University, 1951.

¹² See *Annual Report, Federal Security Agency*, 1950, pp. 62-66.

¹³ See Charles V. Kidd, "Economic Security for Older Persons," in *Living Through the Older Years* (Wilma T. Donahue and Clark Tibbitts, Eds., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949), pp. 155-77.

¹⁴ See Sumner H. Slichter, "Retirement Age and Social Policy," in *The Aged and Society* (Industrial Relations Research Association, 1950), pp. 109-11.

IMPROVEMENTS IN OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE

It seems highly likely that most serious attention will be given to improvements in the existing program rather than a basic change in the program. Among the proposals made for improving the existing program are:

Universal coverage

While most persons who work for a living are covered by the existing program, farmers, some professional persons, and about one-half of all farm workers and domestic workers are still excluded. These groups should be included. Also excluded are a number of different groups covered under their own retirement plans, such as employees working for the railroads and federal, state, and local governments, and military personnel. Various proposals have been made which will improve the retirement protection of persons who move from one plan to another without reducing the protection afforded to the long-service employee under a particular plan.

Further extension of coverage will make the program more effective in the long run, and will help to keep the assistance burden from growing in the future. Extension of coverage will not help so far as the present assistance load is concerned. Most of the old people now getting assistance will probably never work again, and therefore cannot be expected to acquire benefit rights under

the insurance program no matter how broad its coverage. This fact has led to proposals to work out some sort of arrangement to pay benefits under the insurance program to all of the present aged.

Such proposals would not solve the problem and could not be adopted without destroying the essential contributory nature of old-age and survivors insurance unless two major conditions were included. The first condition is that the insurance program would have to be extended to cover all gainful employment. Otherwise, many persons becoming aged in future years would still be without insurance protection and in need of public assistance. The second condition is that the cost of these noncontributory benefits would have to be financed from general revenues and not from employers' and employees' contributions.

Increases in benefits

Another way to increase the effectiveness of the program is by making it more responsive to increases in wages, prices, and standards of living.¹⁶ If benefit amounts fail to adjust promptly to these factors, more people dependent on benefits will become needy, and increased supplementation of benefits by assistance will be necessary.

Under the present provisions, benefits are based on an average wage computed over the worker's working lifetime. This means that low earnings in the early years of a worker's lifetime reduce the benefit amount. Moreover, the long-run trend of wages is upward. Benefits could be related to rising wages that had determined the worker's standard of living before his retirement if the average monthly wage

1951; and minority views in Senate Committee Report No. 1669 on H. R. 6000, 81st Cong., 2d sess., May 17, 1950, pp. 313-19. For the views on those opposed to the Meriam-Butler plan see Senator James E. Murray, *Congressional Record*, June 19, 1950, p. 8963 (daily issue); Edwin E. Witte, "Social Provisions for the Aged," in *The Aged and Society*, Industrial Relations Research Association, 1950, pp. 131-32; and Robert M. Ball, in *Public Welfare*, October 1950, pp. 187-90.

¹⁶ See Wilbur J. Cohen, "Should Old-Age Assistance Again Outpace Old-Age Insurance?" *American Economic Security*, July-August, 1951.

were computed over the five or ten consecutive years of highest earnings.

One additional element should be reflected in the benefit formula. Under present law, a man who is now aged 60 will get the same benefit amount after contributing for only five years as a man now aged 40 with the same average earnings who has contributed for twenty-five years. Before the 1950 amendments, the basic benefit amount was increased by 1 per cent for every year the individual spent in covered employment. The 1 per cent increment should be restored to the benefit formula, so that the long-term contributor would get some return for his extra contribution.

Even if these changes are made, benefit amounts will not keep pace with rising wages unless the maximum on wages which may be credited toward benefits is raised. The limit was increased in 1950 from \$3,000 a year to \$3,600, but the \$3,600 ceiling is not enough to take account of increases in wage rates in the past twelve years. In 1939, when the \$3,000 limit was established, only 5 per cent of all year-round workers earned more than \$3,000. In 1950, 22 per cent earned more than \$3,600. To keep the proportion of workers with all their earnings credited toward insurance benefits at the 1939 level, the maximum wage base would have to be about \$6,000 at the present time.

Similarly, as wages go up, the portion of the average wage to which the first part of the benefit formula is applied should be increased. Under the new formula the benefit is equal to 50 per cent of the first \$100 of the average monthly wage, plus 15 per cent of the remainder. This formula expresses the intent of Congress to replace a larger percentage of wages for low wage workers than for those with high wages. However, as wage rates rise, the concept

of what constitutes "low" wages also changes. Unless the amount to which the 50 per cent part of the formula applies is increased to \$115 or \$120 as wages rise, the intent to replace a larger proportion of low wages will not be effectively carried out.

Finally, as wages go up, the amount (at present \$50 per month) which beneficiaries may earn and still get benefits should be increased. The amount should be large enough so that the beneficiaries may supplement their benefits by engaging in part-time work; as wages increase, the amount of wages which can be earned by part-time work also increases.

Further consideration should also be given to the question of permitting women to qualify for benefits at age 60. Wives are usually a few years younger than their husbands, and it cannot reasonably be expected that when a man retires at 65 his wife will be able to get a job to supplement his retirement income. Similarly, a woman widowed at age 60, or an aged dependent mother, may have a very difficult time getting a job if she has not previously worked. If wives, widows, and dependent mothers are permitted to receive benefits at age 60, consideration may be given to lowering the retirement age for women workers, also.

Hospitalization insurance

Many beneficiaries have heavy emergency expenses—such as for needed hospital care—which the benefits cannot be expected to cover. It would not be practicable to increase payments to all beneficiaries sufficiently to cover hospital expenses, since not all of them have such expenses. A recent survey of insurance beneficiaries in two large cities showed that only one out of twelve aged couples who had obtained hospital care had any form of hospitalization insurance. Most beneficiaries

are not members of groups to which such insurance is available, and they unquestionably have higher-than-average hospital needs. The need for insuring beneficiaries against hospital costs can be met through the old-age and survivors insurance program.

Insurance against disability

About two million of the civilian population between the ages of 14 and 65—not counting persons in mental, tuberculosis, and other hospitals—are unable to go about their regular pursuits because they have a prolonged disability. Moreover, the number of disabled people is increasing, and will continue to increase as proportionately more of the population is in the older ages.

The approach to the problem of disability must be twofold. It is essential to rehabilitate and return to productive employment as many disabled workers as possible, and it is essential to provide income for those who cannot be rehabilitated, as well as temporarily for those who can eventually return to work.

A program of disability insurance should make rehabilitation services available to all those in danger of suffering permanent and total disability. Moreover, during the rehabilitation process, such a program should provide cash benefits to support the disabled persons and their families. A program of this sort would ensure that as many

disabled people as possible would be rehabilitated. It would bring about an expansion of rehabilitation facilities, which are now severely limited, and it would promote the training and employment of additional expert personnel, since rehabilitation services would be paid for from the trust fund.

Such a program should also contain provisions to preserve the retirement and survivor protection of disabled workers. Under the present insurance program, a disabled worker not only must get along without benefits until age 65, but even when he reaches that age he may not get adequate benefits because his period of disability will have substantially reduced his benefit amount or will have entirely wiped out his right to benefits. Similarly, if he dies prematurely his family may be left with inadequate benefits or none at all.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

A sound and comprehensive program for improving the income of the aged requires: (1) more employment opportunities for the aged; (2) more adequate incomes during their working lives in order to increase home ownership, savings, and insurance protection; (3) a method of insuring families against medical costs; (4) broadening and improving public and private retirement and assistance provisions for the aged and the disabled; (5) more adequate rehabilitation and medical services for older persons.

Wilbur J. Cohen, Washington, D. C., has been technical adviser to the Commissioner for Social Security for the past sixteen years and has worked on the original Social Security Act and its amendments. He has represented the United States Government at international social security meetings in Chile, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina, and at the International Labor Conference. He was chairman of the Tripartite Panel on Health, Welfare and Pensions of the Wage Stabilization Board, 1951. He is coeditor of Readings in Social Security (1948).

Community Programs for the Elderly

By HARRY A. LEVINE

Old age is in fact a quality of mind and body whose onset varies from individual to individual rather than a mere quantity expressed by a term of duration applicable to all.

—Nuffield Report

THE purpose of society is the elevation of human life. Step by step, society has taken to itself the responsibility for public health, public education, public welfare, the care of the defective, the aged, the dependent, and the unemployed; and in the area of recreation, the provision of free parks, playgrounds, libraries, and museums. More and more, with the higher development of our civilization, we are including education in the helpful use of leisure time and the provision of means for such use.

Recreation and activity programs for the older person are peculiarly a function of democratic society. In his lifetime, the older person has made his contribution—given us his energy, his skill, and his children. We owe him the possibility of living his later years without frustration and rejection. We owe him the opportunity to prolong his usefulness—to contribute his energy and his wisdom to the life around him.

RECREATIONAL RESOURCES

While society has largely accepted responsibility for the physical welfare of the older person, little consideration has been given to activity that will give him a feeling of usefulness and belonging, of adequacy and accomplishment, of acceptance and understanding—the things that tend to preserve the personality.

The institutions and resources for the older person that are presently available are limited. They have in no way kept pace with the increase in the num-

ber of older people, and with their strength and vitality. For the most part, they have paid little heed to the emerging concepts in the field of gerontology. These institutions were organized for a shorter life span and the different needs of an earlier era; they have changed little, despite the fact that the tired and worn old man or woman has been replaced by an aging person of considerably greater potential, with a whole set of new values, needs, and problems.

In the last decade the very numbers of older unemployed people drew attention and forced recognition of their presence. The recent interest in recreation and activity programs is a result of that recognition.

In many cities, councils of social agencies have special committees to work with the problems of the aging. They have stimulated the organization of a number of clubs and club programs. New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Washington, Milwaukee, and San Francisco have clubs sponsored by social agencies; some are co-sponsored with national organizations, like the National Council of Jewish Women; some in co-operation with settlement houses and community centers.

Settlement houses and community centers are very much interested, and are developing club programs. A few are developing day center programs.

Churches, synagogues, and other religious organizations have an important contribution to make and are becoming aware and interested, but the facilities

are not often conducive to free and easy associations. Church rules about smoking and playing cards are restrictive; also, janitorial service and heat seem to be a primary factor for many churches.

Some homes for the aged have recognized the value of creative and recreational programs in maintaining the strengths of the older resident. They have arts and crafts, choral groups, entertainment and occupational therapy programs. They are only now becoming aware of the possibilities of extending services to, and of their responsibility for, the nonresident as well as the resident older person.

Libraries and museums are co-operating; Cleveland has its Live Long and Like It Club. Libraries plan book clubs and reading clubs, lectures and discussions, with hobbies and health as the major interest.

A few universities in this country, such as the Institute for Human Adjustment at the University of Michigan, sponsor courses and institutes on aging. Some school boards, like the Board of Education in New York City, sponsor courses and adult centers. They have opened some of the public schools in the evening for recreation and activity programs. Some park departments and home economic departments sponsor hobbies, crafts, gardening, lectures, and educational activities.

The golden age clubs

There are some golden age clubs sponsored by business and professional groups; a few have been started independently by older people and are completely autonomous, like the grandmothers' clubs. Most are open to all, regardless of race, color, or creed; others have been formed with particular cultural and professional interests in mind. There may be as many as three hundred clubs in the United States. All

clubs provide social contacts; many include lectures, discussion groups, motion pictures, and television.

Noncommercial recreation for the older person is best exemplified by these golden age clubs, meeting once a week or once a month for a few hours in an afternoon or evening. They are a blessing for those who have other activities during the day; they can and often do supplement work or household chores. In some cases they are a substitute for membership in societies and organizations which the old people can no longer afford. They provide companionship and have cultural value. They are a valuable addition to recreational resources.

The day center

A recent development and a new resource—one which recognizes the broader needs of the older person—is the day center. The Department of Welfare in New York City developed the first day center in this country some eight years ago. There are now twelve such programs, open from nine to five o'clock, five days a week, in New York City and a number in other cities in this country. The idea of the centers has spread to England, Canada, France, and Australia.

The centers have adopted the knowledge, the techniques, and the programs developed by the recreation field. They have found that the values and benefits accruing to younger people in such organized programs are applicable to older persons. They recognize that recreation is a basic human need, and the facilities are planned accordingly.

Facilities in the centers include lounges for talk and reading, large rooms for mass activities, playrooms or play areas for cards, checkers, and chess, workshops, meeting rooms, classrooms, and libraries. A number have darkrooms for photography; one has a

poolroom. Some have yards for outdoor games. A kitchen is part of every center, for lunch and refreshments and to make parties possible.

The members of the centers sing, dance, and play cards and games. They make friends. They visit each other. Some even find romance; there have been eleven marriages in one center to date. They visit museums and places of interest regularly. They celebrate each other's birthdays once a month. They plan boat rides and picnics, and celebrate holidays. They have motion pictures, bazaars, and exhibitions of their work. They paint, write, and participate in editing magazines. They write their own plays and act in them. They make clothes, hats, jewelry, and costumes for plays. They have classes in woodwork, copper, leather, ceramics, English, sculpture, poetry, music and music appreciation, elocution, and acting. They maintain old skills or develop new skills and interests. They have discussion groups and regular information programs on health and geriatrics. The center becomes a major source of information. They have orchestras and choral groups. They do all the arts and crafts. The retired or unemployed older person may well bring a renaissance of folk art and craft to America.

There seems to be no limit to the interest and activity that may be developed. Interest can be aroused that will hold groups of different cultural levels. There are unlimited areas for activity, both intellectual and physical, for continued personal development.

Staff members include caseworkers, group workers, registered occupational therapists, and specialists in activities such as music, dramatics, carpentry, and arts and crafts. Counseling and casework are important areas of activity for the staff. A housing registry is maintained in some centers. Every cen-

ter has developed a visiting committee of members who not only visit their own sick members but are extending this service to agencies in the community to visit shut-in older people.

Meeting the diversity of desires and needs of their members, these centers are planned as a constructive substitute for the loss of the workday. Members come and go freely. Most come all day, every day; some come two or three times a week. The centers are self-governing, with members carrying a considerable part of the responsibility for program planning and management. The centers are sponsored by public welfare agencies, voluntary agencies, interested citizens, or a combination of any of these.

Open opportunities

Industry and unions have an unusual opportunity to contribute to the well-being of the older person and to themselves by establishing day centers for their retired workers. Along with furnishings for the usual activities, these centers should be provided with shop and laboratory equipment, tools and materials. This would stimulate and open up vast opportunities for the retired worker, permitting him to explore and develop some of his ideas that he could not bring to fruition in a busy work life—to invent new tools and make changes in those with which he has worked. He can maintain some of the elements of his job; it can yield a reward that is rich in satisfaction and possibilities for him. His skill, knowledge, and time are tremendous untapped resources that have untold possibilities. The knowledge and the time used in these work-related activities should net innovations and improvements which may make a lasting contribution to our economy.

There is a beginning movement, today, to have homes for the aged open

their doors to the nonresident. Old age homes—with physical plants, facilities, and funds for the care of the aged—have a stake in the preventive as well as the custodial care of the older person. Some homes have accepted responsibility for the nonresident, through a home care program. The program is necessarily limited by the number of older people that can be served and the kind of services possible. However, a day center program, as part of the homes for the aged, can give service to additional hundreds in the homes. Multiform activity programs and related services, developed in the day centers, can enrich the lives of the resident and the home-care older person, as well as the nonresident in the community. The resident can continue contact with the community through a contemporary healthier, stronger, more dynamic, day center member. He can be stimulated to join the integrated and less dependent day center members in many activities. Mental health seems contagious and communicable. The day center can bring that to the home. It can participate in the life of the home. The visiting committee program can be extended to include services to the bedridden, visiting, reading to them, writing letters for them, and so forth.

THE DEEPER NEEDS

Golden age clubs and other community programs are a beginning movement of recognition and acceptance of the older person. They enrich the resources in the community for his recreation. His contemporaries in these clubs add to his enjoyment and friendships.

Actually, however, the aging person does not need to seek out contemporaries to find pleasure and entertainment in his leisure time. Loss of employment may separate him from the in-

dustrial part of community life, but it need not separate him from the recreational fabric of the community. Neither loss of work nor diminishing physical capacity need change his leisure-time activity much. By and large, he can continue with familiar activity and be part of the community that he knows. Much, if not all, of his leisure time is associated with the evening. He can continue to enjoy movies and go to concerts, lectures, and classes. He can participate in church activity and community center and settlement programs. He can listen to the radio, watch television, read, and visit relatives and friends.

Recreation, no matter how important and no matter how broadly used, is only one aspect of the activity needs of the older person. Occasional and short contacts, inherent in recreation, do not satisfy the deeper need for creative and purposeful activity and do not meet the basic biological and psychological needs of unemployed, unoccupied older persons.

Activity

Activity as a primary human need, expressed physically, mentally, and emotionally, is basic to the older as well as the younger person. It is fundamental in preserving the personality. Basically, the older person needs to fill in his unused day with activity that will continue to use his abilities and his experiences—activity that will give him a feeling of adequacy, accomplishment, and usefulness.

There is belief that continued employment is the answer; it may be for some. Industry may learn to utilize more older people longer, but the greater number of older people will be unemployed. They must experience and resign themselves to unemployment at some time in their life. Nor does em-

ployment take into consideration the women who lose responsibility for the family or household. Together they form the main body, the largest number, of older people. It is this large reservoir of older people that should be the major concern of the community.

Activity-charged preventive programs for this large group will reduce the pressure and the need for custodial and remedial institutions. Dr. MacCurdy, of the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, sees the investment of taxpayers' money in prevention rather than in building more and bigger institutions for the aged.¹ The steady increase in psychiatric casualties may be an indication of what is in store for us if a positive program of prevention is not developed.

"Retirement to"

Then, there is the other concept that man need not work until he dies; that after contributing forty or fifty years to our industrial well-being, he should have the opportunity to enjoy the contribution he has made—to enjoy our culture, our civilization.

Most people have areas of competency which a busy work life did not permit to develop. With longer life expectancy, with a stronger, less worn body, with a zest for life, with an interest in living and doing and a longer period in which to do nothing, deterioration will follow unless we develop preventive programs.

Most older people have experienced a great deal of frustration in their work life. Retirement could bring some satisfaction and happiness in later life if

they could retire to rather than from something. Today, they have no choice.

Dr. E. G. Fried found that motivations for the frequently obsessive desire for work were the need to maintain self-esteem, the wish to escape from self-preoccupation and depression, and the striving to combat inner restlessness.² Folsom and Morgan found only a moderate correlation between work and happiness.³ Conkey found, through interviewing, that the older person considered strong and varied interests and activity most important; economic security and independence were second.⁴

ACTIVITY AND MOTIVATION

In studies made by J. Landis of 450 persons 65 to 98 years of age, he found that all those who were active and had enough to do, including those even with hobbies, were better adjusted than others.⁵ Folsom and Morgan found that hobbies and interesting activities are related to happiness. One-third of the persons studied found time hanging heavy on their hands; the busiest were happiest. Morgan also discusses the opinion of 55 older persons listed in *Who's Who in America*. They, too, emphasize the importance of having plenty to do in order to be happy.

Resources for activity are very limited. Community day centers for older people need to be developed to promote:

² E. G. Fried, "Attitudes of the Older Population Groups Towards Activity and Inactivity," *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (April 1949), pp. 141-51.

³ J. K. Folsom and C. M. Morgan, "Social Adjustment of 381 Recipients of Old Age Allowances," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (April 1937), pp. 223-29.

⁴ F. Conkey, "Adaptation of Fifty Men and Women to Old Age," *Journal of Home Economics*, Vol. 25, No. 5 (May 1933), pp. 387-89.

⁵ J. T. Landis, "Social-Psychological Factors of Aging," *Social Forces*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (May 1942), pp. 468-70.

¹ Frederick MacCurdy, "The Aged in Our Mental Institutions," in *Birthdays Don't Count*, report of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging, Legislative Document No. 61, 1948, pp. 243-46.

(1) the social and emotional adjustment of the older person by making it possible for him to find companionship and create an environment that is favorable to his expansion; (2) the rehabilitation of personal efficiency by making it possible for the older person to make the maximum use of the capacities least impaired; and (3) community usefulness by creating a feeling of adequacy and accomplishment through an activity program.

A day center program utilizing the added time, the remaining strength, and the areas of competency of the older person during the hours usually spent at work can provide satisfactions associated with work, such as social usefulness, opportunities for self-expression, recognition, belonging, companionship, an established routine, something to look forward to. The center offers him choices in a climate that is conducive to experience and growth. Choices are fundamental. What the older person does from choice has meaning for him. At the center, activity is not just arts and crafts but motivation to do, movement, participation, and excitement. Time hangs heavy on his personality, particularly between nine and five o'clock, when everyone is busy and he feels separated from the main stream of life. Time can be a corroding factor with little to do, but in a center program on a planned basis, it becomes an added form of energy, replacing diminishing energy and vitality.

Decline does exist for the average, but individuals differ sufficiently to develop opportunities for creative activity for many members, particularly when decline in capacity may really be decline in motivation. Fatigue may easily be a defense mechanism—the result of being bored, useless, or not necessary to anyone. Even orientation or difficulty in accepting people may be due to lack of channels for emotional

expression; for when put at ease and encouraged, such persons show unusual improvement and change.

THE GROUP FACTOR

The center recognizes the importance of group interaction in the life of an individual, and its tendency to be pattern-setting. The center uses the group to support and strengthen the individual; to help develop his talents and experiences or redirect them to find new uses, new goals, new roles of social usefulness. While physical fitness, psychological needs, and acquired habits and attitudes affect the choice of activity, the group can and does modify the motives, habits, and attitudes in continued effective participation.

Physical limitations may not change fundamentally, but changes in adjustment to such limitations are observed in group activity. The center helps the older person to live with his limitations, but, even more, it concentrates on his strengths as it utilizes them in activity programs. It affects his tempo and accomplishment. As he becomes more involved in a group program, his understanding of himself undergoes change. There is less and less effort to rationalize inadequacy and failure on a health level. Instead, there is discovery of skills and talents that he can appreciate and others will accept, and there is recognition of the idea that these skills and talents can grow, increasing his feeling of adequacy and accomplishment. Integrating the older person in group activity enables him to recognize that others around him have equal limitations and are utilizing the strengths they have to achieve and create.

As the individual becomes more integrated in the group, there is noticeable day-to-day expansion which, in itself, is energy created through the group. In a group setting he is helped to de-

velop a definite interest in purposeful activity, which he is stimulated to follow systematically. Energy may be increased by using it. The more the group accept responsibility, the more they participate. The more they participate, the more easily they learn. The more they learn, the more they retain what they learn.

Acceptance, recognition, attention, relationships, make for a steady recovery from fear, loneliness, and frustration. There are members whose chief preoccupation was with their health and visits to clinics, who are now more discriminating in their visits to clinics. In one center there was a drop of 70 per cent in clinic attendance after six months of membership. In a recent study of the visual acuity of sixty members of the Hodson Center by psychologists and ophthalmologists of the United States Public Health Service, it was found impossible for a number of the members to see; yet they have not been limited in their activities. The same was found in a survey of some thirty members who had cardiac conditions. In a number of instances, their physicians insisted that the patients were too sick to be out of bed; yet they attended the center regularly. The obvious conclusion is that the adjustment to decline in capacity or a physical

handicap depends on more than strictly organic factors.

CONCLUSION

In a democracy it should be possible for the later years to be less of a struggle and to be filled with some satisfactions in accomplishment and creativity. Given the opportunity, the older members of our society can contribute to our cultural well-being. The Grandmas Moses' are not unique; they can be the rule, rather than the exception.

The constructive use of man's later years is possible if we can give him a sense of achievement, lessen failures in his efforts, and develop possibilities compensating for impaired capacity. To do that, we need to evolve an activity program in a day center that will include medical, psychological, and psychiatric facilities, as well as group work, casework, and personal counseling. Such a center can constructively affect the characteristics of the older person. The enormous amount of unused time holds untold possibilities of cultural enrichment for the individual and society. Society must provide the opportunities for the constructive use of time and energy. It must enable all to fulfill the promise of growth and achievement offered in the prolonged life of man.

Harry A. Levine, New York City, is director of the Special Services for the Aged in the New York City Department of Welfare. He is founder of the Hodson Center for older people, and has been in the forefront of the development of the center program for older people in this country. He has given institutes on aging at the New York State Conference of Social Work and the University of California, Berkeley, and is active in numerous organizations dealing with the problems of the aging.

Employment Services for Older Workers

By CHARLES E. ODELL

DURING the first six months of 1950 the public employment services in five states co-operated with the Bureau of Employment Security of the United States Department of Labor in making a comprehensive study of the employment problems of older workers. Localities in which studies took place were Columbus, Ohio; Houston, Texas; Lancaster, Pennsylvania; Los Angeles, California; and New York City. These localities represented small, medium-sized, and large communities with labor market conditions ranging from relatively high unemployment to virtually full employment. The studies covered a cross section of the labor market, including all occupational and industrial groups.

Local employment offices which participated in the studies selected, over a period of four months, a random sample of all their applicants 45 years of age and over. They divided the total sample into a control group and an experimental group similar in composition with respect to age, sex, occupational distribution, handicapped status, and length of unemployment. The control group received no service they would not have received under any circumstances in the regular course of operations of the employment office. The experimental group received intensive employment counseling and job placement services exploiting every device suggested by the experience or ingenuity of the most capable and best-trained counselors and placement interviewers. The counselors and interviewers analyzed carefully the characteristics and problems of these applicants, and at-

tempted to determine the effectiveness of the services of the local office in improving their employment opportunities and in assisting them to achieve successful job adjustment.

During the course of the studies, participating local offices collected labor market information on 342,000 workers of all ages. They analyzed over 13,000 job openings to plot the pattern of hiring specifications as they relate to age. The more intensive study of the control and experimental groups of workers 45 and over for a period of six months yielded complete counseling and placement information on 4,657 individuals and partial information on 4,070, or significant data on a total of 8,727 older workers.

WHEN IS A WORKER TOO OLD?

Quantitative data of the studies refer only to workers 45 years of age and over. This, however, is merely a statistical convention. The age at which a worker encounters employment problems because of characteristics associated with aging varies widely with his occupation, his industry, and the locality in which he works. A worker in one occupation or industry, such as retail specialty sales, may begin to experience employment difficulties at 35 or younger; while another worker in, for example, the wholesale field, may have no trouble in finding and holding a job at 55 or even 60. In New York City, a floor girl in the needle trades is "old" at 40; but a patternmaker at 65 is often preferred to a younger worker.

Generally, employment problems connected with age arise earlier for women

than for men. Columbus reported that, in the opinion of the counselors, women of 35 meet employment difficulties comparable to those of men at 45 or even 50. In Houston, more than one-third of all women over 45 registered with the local office were clerical or sales workers, but four-fifths of the employers' orders for women in these occupational categories bore age restrictions below 35. Lancaster found that not only in clerical and sales work but also in factory production work, employers placed age restrictions of 18 to 35 on the hiring of women workers.

Evidently, the age at which a worker is considered old industrially depends heavily upon the kind and degree of skill, the industry, the prevailing conditions of the local labor market, the type and strength of unionization, and the personal qualifications of the individual job seeker.

Since it is inaccurate to define the older worker in terms of age brackets, the Bureau of Employment Security has adopted, for the purposes of employment services to older workers, a definition specifically in terms of their employment problems: "An applicant is an older worker only if he is encountering difficulty in getting or keeping a job principally because of his age or of characteristics ordinarily associated with age."

ATTITUDES AND BIASES

Many complex factors affect the difficulty of the older worker in obtaining and retaining employment. Particularly serious are widespread and obstinate attitudes which reflect common biases and the tendency to stereotyped thinking about older people.

One instance is the misconception that chronological age is synonymous with physical and mental aging—despite all experience to the contrary.

Case reports in our studies of older workers demonstrate dramatically that some people in their 40's or 50's manifest all the characteristics associated with aging, whereas many people in their 60's or older do not. For example, the New York report describes one applicant of 51 as follows: "His face was haggard, his hands had a discernible tremor, his manner was alternately bold and whiningly timid. . . . He repeated himself endlessly and revealed no growth of insight into his problems." This would strike most people as a description of traits associated with advanced age. On the other hand, the Los Angeles report cites the case of a woman of 63 who was remarkably young-looking and whose "personality was so delightfully youthful that she could not understand why so many women of her age were so drab." She was so ill able to understand that she set herself up in business giving private lessons in "charm" to women over 50. Obviously, this woman was young beyond her years.

Generalizations concerning the comparative productivity and stability of older workers are another example of conclusions unfounded in fact. Employers often give as their reason for not hiring older workers their opinion that such workers have set work habits and are not adaptable; that they cannot get along with younger workers; that they lack physical stamina necessary to keep up with production schedules; or that they do not respond to training. No studies support these opinions.

The typical older worker is a stable and responsible individual who changes jobs less often and has a better record of attendance than younger workers. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, in a study of nearly 18,000 plant workers in a wide variety of industries and occupations, showed that the absenteeism

rate fell steadily as the age of the worker increased, and that in every age group over 50, workers lost fewer scheduled work days than those in any age group below 50.¹ Older workers produce as much as do younger workers, and with a more even work pace and less wastage. In a recent survey of 2,794 companies with 2.5 million employees, 22 per cent of employers reported superior work performance, 48 per cent superior attendance, 32 per cent superior safety records, and 48 per cent superior work attitudes on the part of older workers.² As to the ability of older workers to work with younger groups, the Lancaster report mentions especially that some employers find the older ones have a steadying influence on younger workers, and therefore prefer to integrate some older workers into each operating unit.

Personnel workers too often fail to consider older people as individuals. They frequently assume that any job change for the older worker must necessarily be a downgrading. They assume that older workers fall perforce into certain limited occupational classifications, for instance, service fields, and that certain jobs are eminently suitable for older workers, such as those of watchman and elevator operator. The employment service studies show that, while about 29 per cent of older workers who obtain employment accepted lower pay than they had formerly received, 16 per cent got jobs at higher pay.

ECONOMIC OBSTACLES

Economic considerations are an important factor in the employment problems of the older workers. Many older

workers have incurred financial obligations which require a relatively high income. Such workers are not able to accept job changes or downgrading with significantly lower pay. Even in the absence of other obligations, responsibility for dependents and for a home often limits the older worker's job choices.

For example, jobs in service occupations are less likely than others to carry age restrictions, but they frequently furnish meals as part of their compensation, and many of them require the worker to live on the employer's premises. The Houston report points out that many older workers cannot accept such jobs, because people "want food for their entire families, not just for themselves," and people who have homes do not wish to live on the job. Also, responsibility for a family often limits the mobility of the older worker. The Lancaster report notes that the older worker often cannot consider a job in an area other than that of his home.

Again, older workers, as the Columbus report comments, are not often in a position to engage in long or expensive training, though it might vastly improve their opportunities for employment.

Economic considerations seriously affect, too, the willingness of employers to hire older workers or to retain them in employment. Many employers argue that the older worker's reduced physical activity or production speed raises cost of operation. A great many employers fear rising cost of pension and insurance systems should their pay rolls show any large number of older workers. When the employed older worker actually cannot perform adequately in his usual occupation, employers feel that his shorter work expectancy does not warrant the expense of training or retraining him.

¹ Max D. Kossoris, "Absenteeism and Injury Experience of Older Workers," *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1948, pp. 16-19.

² National Association of Manufacturers, unpublished survey data, 1951.

MODERN INDUSTRIAL POLICIES BOTH
HELP AND HINDER

Certain practices which modern industry has adopted, and which are generally beneficial to workers, are often complicating factors in the employment of older workers. Seniority, which generally protects the employment of workers until they reach retirement age, affects adversely the unemployed older worker's chance of becoming re-employed at the occupational level and pay rate for which he qualifies.³

The practice of promotion from within, or the career policy, is generally beneficial to both workers and employers, because it is an incentive to employees to develop their aptitudes to the maximum extent possible and to maintain high standards of production. This practice, however, may have the same effect as the practice of seniority in limiting employment opportunities for the unemployed older worker.⁴

Insurance and pension plans generally provide protection to workers and their dependents against financial hardship. Compulsory retirement, however, cuts off employment opportunities at arbitrary chronological ages regardless of the worker's need for employment or ability to perform.⁵

Reports from all the employment service study localities cited company policies with regard to seniority, promotion from within, and insurance and pension systems as the reasons which employers most often gave for their applying age restrictions in hiring.

³ Richard Lester, *Economics of Labor* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), pp. 469-72.

⁴ Richard C. Wilcock, "Who's Too Old to Work?" University of Illinois Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Bulletin Series, Vol. IV, No. 3 (September 1950), p. 8.

⁵ N. W. Shock, "Older People and Their Potentialities for Gainful Employment," *Journal of Gerontology*, April 1947, pp. 93-102.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES—SCARCITY
AMID ABUNDANCE

The total number of job opportunities is an important factor in the employment problems of older workers. However, the employment service studies conclusively disprove the popular assumption that full, or at least expanding, employment provides a complete solution to the older worker's difficulties in finding employment. The studies provide undeniable evidence that, under any and all circumstances, workers over 45 in every occupational category have fewer employment opportunities than their representation in these categories would warrant.

For example, in Lancaster 46 per cent of the skilled applicants were over 45, but only 19 per cent of the persons placed in skilled trades were over 45; the odds against placement of workers over 45 as a whole were on the average 6 to 1, with odds of 4½ to 1 in clerical and sales occupations, and 5 to 1 even in the semiskilled trades. Houston had had a tight labor market for a long time, yet 52 per cent of employers' orders in the local office carried age restrictions. In Columbus, where the labor market became stringent during the course of the study, four-fifths of the orders were for workers under 45, and two-fifths called for workers under 35.⁶ A comparable condition prevailed in placements everywhere.⁷ Generally, the odds were greater against women than against men.

In their unequal competition for employment, older workers often have to

⁶ "Trained Manpower Going to Waste? Employment Services Survey Job Prospects of Older Applicants," *The Labor Market and Employment Security*, May 1951, pp. 18-19.

⁷ Louis H. Ravin, "Live Longer and Like It?" *Employment Security Review*, April 1951, p. 32.

accept work in the less desirable occupations and industries. The study data show that there is a decided increase with advancing age in the proportion of workers in service occupations. In Lancaster, 23 per cent of older men applying for work at the local office were service workers, in contrast to about 4 per cent of those under 45; and in each of the other study areas, the proportion of older men in service occupations represented a similarly sharp increase over the proportion of younger men so classified.⁸

Since service jobs are comparatively low paid and often involve poor working conditions, the availability of opportunities for employment of older workers in the service occupations is really significant of disadvantage rather than advantage.

LONG PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT

One of the gravest aspects of the employment problems of older workers is the long period of unemployment which the majority of them suffer once they lose their jobs. This is a severe hazard both to the worker himself and to society. In all the employment service study localities, a considerably larger proportion of older than younger workers remained unemployed for more than twenty weeks.⁹ A high percentage of older workers remain unemployed long enough to exhaust their unemployment insurance benefit¹⁰ and also any personal financial reserves they may have accumulated. Thereafter they must accept private or public assistance, which entails for most people a loss of social status and self-esteem.

⁸ *Op. cit.* note 6 *supra*, pp. 15-16.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰ "Older Workers at the Public Employment Office," *The Labor Market*, June 1949, p. 36.

Serious as is the effect of unwonted dependence as concerns the older worker, however, it is even greater with respect to society as a whole. It increases the cost of social security and public assistance programs. It deprives the economy of much potential production. Estimates of the value of production we lose because older people who are willing and able to work are not working run into billions of dollars.¹¹ The unemployment of older workers eventually lowers the standard of living of both the older workers and employed workers whom they burden.

IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

The services of the local offices of the public employment service are of pivotal importance to the older worker in his job seeking. An unexpectedly high percentage of the older workers of the study groups who became employed obtained their jobs through the employment service. This was true of the workers in the control groups as well as those in the experimental groups, although those in the control groups received no special services and benefited from no special placement efforts. Employment through relatives, friends, advertisements, private employment agencies, and even unions, was negligible in all groups.

The prominence of the employment service as a source of placement for older workers is remarkable because for the general run of applicants, employment agencies, whether public or private, rank well below other sources of placement. A number of investigations have shown that about 40 per cent of

¹¹ John D. Durand, *The Labor Force in the United States, 1890-1960* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948), pp. 184-85.

all applicants for work secure jobs through their own efforts, while another 25 per cent find employment through relatives and friends, and substantial numbers get work through unions. Generally, only from 15 to 20 per cent secure employment through the public employment service. Among the older workers studied, 39 per cent obtained placement through the employment service.

INTENSIVE INDIVIDUALIZED SERVICE NEEDED

No doubt the employment service ranked so high as a source of placement for older workers in general and those in the experimental group in particular because of the need of large numbers of these applicants for intensive counseling and placement services to assist them in securing and retaining employment. About half of the older workers do not require any special service; but the other half require a great deal of attention in order that they may locate and take advantage of employment opportunities.

It is safe to say that the employment service has better facilities for providing the special services which these latter applicants need than does any other source of placement service open to them. While there are instances of outstanding performance by some private agencies and institutions, nowhere outside the local offices of the employment service can workers obtain the comprehensive information and assistance which the employment service can provide to help them arrive at a realistic appraisal of their own capacities in relation to immediate and prospective employment opportunities, and of the ways in which they can adjust themselves to existing labor market conditions.

The services available to older work-

ers through the public employment service consist of especially careful application taking; - technically accurate occupational classification; intensive employment counseling; placement service, including the development of job opportunities by individual job solicitation, where necessary; and an employer promotion and public relations program which encourages understanding of the advisability of employing older workers. The application process and the technique of occupational classification have their bases in the extensive occupational research in which the employment service constantly engages, and which has produced the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, defining 22,028 individual jobs occurring in industry in the United States.

EMPLOYMENT COUNSELING SERVICE

The older worker studies showed that traditional methods of factual recording and classification of past work experience and training of older workers was not an adequate approach to the counseling interview. The employment counselor must often assist the worker to dissect and analyze his employment history, by isolating all the separate skills he has acquired, by recognizing relationships among these skills, and by seeing how various combinations of these might make it possible for him to perform a number of different jobs. After helping the worker to analyze his qualifications for the performance of jobs, the counselor must often assist him to relate this analysis to information regarding the labor market conditions currently surrounding opportunities for employment in specific types of jobs.

Employment counseling services were also found to include special techniques for the placement of the physically handicapped, known as physical capaci-

ties—physical demands analysis techniques. These are devices for appraising the abilities of the physically handicapped and matching these abilities to the demands of jobs which they can perform in equal competition with workers who have no disabilities.

These techniques are also used with workers who, though not actually physically handicapped, are undergoing the physical changes of aging, but who do not recognize that these changes are the source of their difficulties in securing or maintaining employment. In such cases the counselor modifies the specific check lists to reflect the effects of decline in capacities rather than loss of capacity. The positive emphasis of the physical capacities approach upon abilities which remain intact usually overcomes the worker's reluctance to acknowledge impairment or slowing down of other capacities. It was found that the use of the physical capacities approach may actually broaden the scope of the worker's search for employment in that he need have no fear of conceding that there are jobs which he can no longer perform, since this approach opens up many possibilities for which he can apply with confidence.

INCIDENCE OF DISABILITY

What has just been said about the use of techniques ordinarily associated with the placement of the disabled should not be misconstrued to mean that all, or even a very significant number, of older job applicants in the studies were physically disabled. The studies indicated that the incidence of physical handicaps among older workers was only slightly higher than among the general applicant population and the younger age groups. The studies show, also, that physical handicaps in older workers are not in themselves a major factor in their problem of find-

ing employment. Proof of this is that the proportion of handicapped older workers who obtained employment was very close to their proportion in the samples.

It was reported that the handicapped older worker has usually made a more satisfactory adjustment to his disability, so that it is no longer a significant factor in his competition for employment. This is, no doubt, because the most prevalent handicaps among older workers are of types which result from gradual deterioration rather than from sudden accident or acute illness. The most common handicaps found in the study groups were impairment of vision or hearing, spinal or abdominal weaknesses, and cardiovascular conditions. In addition to being gradual in development, such handicaps usually do not involve a diminution of strength or agility to levels below those required in most jobs.

ORGANIZATION OF COUNSELING AND PLACEMENT SERVICES

Those who participated in the older worker studies agreed unanimously that adequate service to older workers does not require organizational segregation. In fact, they agreed that the special attention which the older worker needs consists of intensified, individualized treatment frequently involving counseling, employer solicitation, and other services already available to applicants in the public employment service. The methods and processes involved are in many respects similar in technical content to those used in service to youth, the handicapped, and other groups. The total facilities of the local office are necessary for effective service to older workers perhaps to a greater degree than for any other special group. Integration of services to older workers with the regular service to applicants in

the local office was felt to be the best method of providing adequate counseling and placement services to the older worker group.

VOLUNTARY EFFORTS TOWARD EMPLOYMENT OF OLDER WORKERS

Prejudices against older workers are deep-seated and widespread. Efforts to overcome them should be equally widespread, and all agencies and individuals interested in the problem should be encouraged to participate in working toward a solution. Beyond the necessity for full exploitation of limited resources, voluntary efforts toward the placement of older workers have a morale-building value, and help them to help themselves in alleviating their plight.

One example of a voluntary enterprise which assists older workers toward employment is the type of organization known as the Forty-Plus Clubs. These are groups of unemployed older people who have had successful experience as executives in business and industry.¹² They supply to each other their employment histories, and visit employers for the purpose of soliciting employment for each other. That is, the individual does not try to sell himself to the employer, but attempts to persuade the employer to hire another qualified member of the organization. The theory behind this procedure is that workers are sometimes embarrassed in attempting to present to employers their own work histories, whereas a man can often make a very good case for another man. In some communities, the local employment offices have furnished space and facilities to Forty-Plus Clubs and similar enterprises in order to expand the scope of their own limited contacts with employers.

Another type of voluntary effort at employment is self-employment. In-

stances of this type of effort have developed in Wilmington, Delaware; Erie, Pennsylvania; and Schenectady, New York; where well-qualified technicians, forced into retirement by company policies, have sought and found means of furnishing engineering, designing, accounting, purchasing, and other services to smaller firms which could not afford full-time personnel in such specialties. The employment service in New York cites as an instance a man who, finding it difficult to obtain employment because of his age, developed a miniature golf course for himself; his wife, and another couple. This enterprise provided employment for four older workers, willing and able to work and maintain their independence.

Another type of voluntary effort is reported by the Cleveland Vocational Guidance Bureau and the Federation Employment Service of New York City. These are local community projects. They do both individual and group counseling, and also provide the services of recreational consultants.¹³

PARTICIPATION OF MANAGEMENT AND LABOR

Management and labor can make a significant contribution toward solving the employment problems of older workers. In collective bargaining for pension plans, there should be agreement on permissive retirement age at which those who no longer want to work or are unable to work could retire on full pension. Where pension plans with fixed retirement ages are already in effect, the companies and unions involved should study the possibility of making retirement voluntary at the specified age, with the exception of those certified on the basis of medical ex-

¹² The Forty-Plus Club of New England, Boston, 1938.

¹³ Edward W. Gressle, "New Vocations for After-50 Workers," *The Cleveland*, July 1950, p. 8.

amination and other criteria as unable to perform, for reasons of health, on plant.

The development of criteria for such their jobs or other jobs available in the purpose constitutes an important task for management and labor alike. Management and labor should arrive at arrangements for the vesting of pension rights. This would mean that an employee who leaves a job would have retirement rights proportionate to contributions already paid into the pension fund. An older worker with a vested interest in one or more pension funds would have one disadvantage removed in seeking another job. His new employer would not have to look forward to retiring the worker on an inadequate pension based on a limited period of employment. Better still would be some pooling of private plans paralleling the federal old-age insurance system.

Management and labor have, in a number of cases, worked out and adopted flexible wage standards which enable older workers to take less productive jobs at lower hourly rates. Some unions have added to seniority provisions of contracts by agreeing to shift older workers to easier jobs at lower earnings in order to continue employment. Other areas requiring the attention of management and labor in maintaining continuity of employment opportunity for older persons who wish to go on working will be explored at a conference to be held soon under the joint sponsorship of the McGregor Fund of Detroit and the National Social Welfare Assembly, and in the forth-

coming report of a survey of management practices in dealing with older workers prepared by Mrs. Elizabeth Breckinridge of the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago.

RESEARCH NEEDED

Success in increasing job opportunities for older workers depends heavily upon research findings. We should investigate the attitudes of older workers toward employment, their ability to meet job requirements, their need for jobs, and ways of expanding their employment opportunities. This type of research is being done to some extent at present by individual companies, employer organizations, unions, universities, and private and governmental research agencies. More is needed. Specifically, research programs should investigate some of the following: (1) physical, mental, and social changes typical of various age groups, and the extent of overlap; (2) development of measures of functional capacities particularly significant in employment; (3) employment opportunities and job requirements in particular industries and occupations in relation to changes characteristic of the aging process; (4) pilot studies within industry to test in operation various plans for utilization of older workers; (5) the costs of retraining and rehabilitation programs in relation to the resulting value of production; and (6) analysis in statistical terms of the work capacities and productivity of older persons as compared to their younger fellows.

Charles E. Odell, Washington, D. C., is chief of the Employment Counseling, Selective Placement and Testing Division of the United States Employment Service and has acted in several other capacities with the Employment Service. He is author of numerous articles and has collaborated in several books, including Matching Youth and Jobs (by Howard M. Bell) and Personnel Research in the U. S. Navy (by Dewey Stuitt).

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD GOVERNMENT

CANHAM, ERWIN D., together with members of the staff of the *Christian Science Monitor*. *Awakening: The World at Mid-Century*. Pp. x, 209. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1951. \$2.75.

This simple, straightforward compilation is held together with hope. It is couched in a constructive journalism which reports, wherever possible from a wide arena of activities, the spirit in confronting "all-powerful materialism." The hope is meant to be a personal challenge. It is difficult to know the precise audience for this volume, but it would be a pity if the volume's simplicity were mistaken for inadequate analysis.

The concluding program of action recommended by the distinguished editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* does not seem impossible after the clues of the preceding chapters. (1) "The free world must continue to strengthen its physical defenses against aggression." (2) "We must preserve the economic soundness of the free world." (3) "We must set forth our program of coexistence and peace alongside the communist powers." Canham adds, "The free nations have not yet thought through and proclaimed the terms on which they are willing to make peace." (4) "We must lift a standard for a more

effective, righteous government within the free nations." (5) In addition to improving international organization, we must "proclaim and clarify to ourselves and to the world the spiritual significance of the free systems as the true and liberating revolution of human history." (6) Finally, we must seek to understand the viewpoints, the needs, and the spiritual pride and hunger of other peoples and other races.

After discussing the twilight of materialism, the rise of womanpower, the new frontiers of the natural sciences which can include "compassion," the weakening of the second principle of thermodynamics (entropy), and the theory of the "survival of the fittest," there is a shrewd analysis of the "formidable massed impatience" of the "have-nots." Trygve Lie is quoted: "I believe that the rise of dependent peoples and the human-rights movement will in the long run have far more significance and give rise to greater events in the second half of the twentieth century than will the present ideological struggle." A prescription follows, what Canham calls "free collectivism"—"our whole social structure is crossed and re-crossed by lines of individual-based togetherness." He adds, "the free collectivism of our system points the way to progress far beyond Marxian collectivism."

Fairly confident chapters on medicine, education, and theology, and more tenta-

tive chapters on art, music, fiction, and drama round out this stimulating volume. If readers of *THE ANNALS* note that Mr. Canham and his colleagues might well have distilled a chapter of strength from the social sciences, it can be said that some of the insights of these disciplines are sprinkled, without jargon, through the book.

RICHARD H. HEINDEL

Washington, D. C.

MORGENTHAU, HANS J. *In Defense of the National Interest: A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy*. Pp. xii, 283, viii. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951. \$3.50.

Incisively critical of postwar American foreign policy, this brilliant analysis by the author of *Politics Among Nations* is built around an appeal for recognition of the dignity of the national interest. The utopianism that has handicapped American diplomacy since 1900 needs, the author feels, a healthy admixture of realism—of old-style balance-of-power, sphere-of-influence politics.

In the course of his argument Morgenthau touches on a favorite theme—that a major defect in our postwar policy is refusal to compromise or even to negotiate with Russia. This, combined with failure to realize the military realities in Europe, failure to comprehend the genuineness of the revolutions in Asia, a chronic tendency to underestimate Russian power, and a "failure of will" to act even when we understand what is required—has so intensified the present highly charged atmosphere that diplomacy is next to impossible.

Support of a settlement with Russia is not to be confused with appeasement: the author is quite aware that a settlement may be impossible. His point is that it has not been tried, and that it ought to be tried. He cites Winston Churchill in a phrase which puts his own theme quite well: "It is better to have a world united than a world divided; but it is also better to have a world divided than a world destroyed."

The book suffers somewhat from the author's tendency to make too sweeping an indictment. With all its utopianism cur-

rent American policy contains a hard core of *Realpolitik* never quite acknowledged in the book. In his analysis of the political revolution of our time the author develops the concept of the bipolar world, wherein "the give and take of compromise become a weakness neither side is able to afford," and "the flexibility of the balance of power and its restraining influence . . . have disappeared." Nonetheless much of his condemnation of American policy appears to be aimed at this very uncompromising quality which he asserts is inevitable; much of his case for negotiation is supported by nineteenth-century balance-of-power examples which he elsewhere deems inapplicable.

Despite such occasional inconsistencies the book stands as a major landmark among analytical studies of American policy a stimulating, searching, and often penetrating work which will accomplish that elusive objective of such studies—to make the reader think.

OLIVER BENSON

University of Oklahoma

KENNAN, GEORGE F. *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950*. Pp. viii, 146. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951. \$2.75.

This little volume comprises six lectures delivered at the University of Chicago by the man responsible for setting up and for a time directing the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State, and an appendix of two articles by the same author reprinted from issues of *Foreign Affairs* for July 1947 and April 1951. It may be remarked in passing that in the opinion of this reviewer the articles are better written, more tightly reasoned, and altogether less vulnerable than the preceding addresses. In the latter the author examines our foreign policies of the last fifty years and in general finds that we have slipped badly. It is apparent that he longs for the good old days when diplomacy was accepted as an esoteric art in which trained and experienced "realists" could work unhampered by the distracting intrusions of a prying public.

The greatest concern of the lecturer is apparently aroused by the "impractical

idealism" (p. 69) which has led to serious errors in judgment of our diplomats during this fifty-year period, and to their failure to take account of "power realities" (pp. 45, 51, 53, *et passim*). In particular he deplores the American tendency to venture moral appraisals of the actions of other nations and our habit of "making ourselves slaves of the concepts of international law and morality . . ." (pp. 53-54). He is distressed at our disinclination to admit "the validity and legitimacy of power realities and aspirations, to accept them without feeling the obligation of moral judgment, to take them as existing and inalterable human forces, neither good nor bad, and to seek their point of maximum equilibrium rather than their reform or their repression" (p. 53). Here, then, as well as elsewhere in these lectures, we find in substance a prescription of good old-fashioned *Realpolitik* with perhaps a slight dash of cautious idealism.

The author deplores big wars and long wars and is all in favor of compromises, especially to prevent the balance of power from being upset. One infers that this is regarded as far more important than to prolong a war for the purpose of thwarting the power aspirations (which we should not judge) of law breakers. From all of which it is understandable that the author takes a dim view of the League of Nations experiment, of the United Nations, and of international law except as it may come to be useful as the "gentle civilizer of self-interest . . ." (p. 54). But are not ideals and human aspirations, quite apart from power politics, also "realities" which the practitioners of diplomacy would do well to take into account?

FRANK M. RUSSELL,
University of California

McLAURIN, JOHN. *The United Nations and Power Politics*. Pp. xiii, 468. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951. \$5.00.

This is by all odds the most vital and pungent book yet to appear about the United Nations. It gets in behind the facade of formal debate and constitutional procedure to expose the political motivation of national governments as they have argued and decided the manifold

issues which have come before the international organization. In the process, McLaurin (a pen-name) provides a remarkably detailed and factual account of the evolution of United Nations operations from its inception to the end of 1950 on social and economic, as well as political, questions.

The result is a powerful indictment of national policies within and towards the United Nations—they "would shock our morals and revolt our common sense if we could see them in the light of day"—followed up by a bold, provocative appeal to the people of his own country (Britain) and of the other democracies to demand that their governments "call off the cold war so far as they are concerned, attempt conciliation and honour their pledges under the Charter."

McLaurin's central thesis is that governments, almost without exception, have betrayed the promises they made to their peoples in the Charter of the United Nations to make peace more secure and to advance human rights. On issue after issue, they have used the United Nations simply to pursue their own narrow national political ends. Even if a government appears to take a stand on broad principles of justice, freedom, or peace, the author demonstrates the presence of mixed motives, with the paramount regard being for "power-political" interests. As a result, the United Nations has had to function on the "low level of *Realpolitik*" instead of fulfilling the noble ends for which it was created.

Nevertheless, some positive achievements have been made. The net effect of political pressures, however base their motivation, has afforded a degree of protection to small states and dependent peoples. Even weak support from the United Nations has raised the fighting morale of victims or intended victims of aggressive or oppressive policies. Guilty governments have been exposed and made to feel uncomfortable. Good co-operation has developed between governments and technicians on social and economic problems, up to the point where these questions too came under the lethal hand of cold war politics or special interests.

Through the work of the Economic and Social Council and its related agencies McLaurin accurately discerns that "lives have been saved, seeds of social growth sown, technical knowledge and skill have been spread . . . abuses of some human beings by others have been restricted." The most hopeful sign for the future, he believes, lies in the ability of citizens who oppose the wrong policies of their own governments to find "fresh determination and useful ammunition" in the debates and votes at the United Nations. With sympathy for world government as the ultimate answer to international conflict, he insists however that this object must first be earned by "honouring the Charter as it stands."

McLaurin freely admits that he has an "axe to grind." His righteous indignation against what he considers hypocritical, selfish power politics by member governments of the United Nations crackles through his fast-moving pages. He believes that common-sense dictates a primarily moral approach to political problems: "policies which pay heed to moral claims are likely to secure for us all that is legitimate in the concept of 'national interest.'" The onus for corrupting the United Nations is laid heavily on the West, because the author is particularly sensitive to a 'holier than thou' attitude on the part of his fellow-believers in democracy. But the score is also called on the Soviet Union and its satellites for willful, though not necessarily sinister, pursuit of national gain at the expense of human welfare.

While the author allows his moral convictions full play, he does not neglect the canons of objective scholarship demanded by his own profession of education. (He has recently been Visiting Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, and helped to organize the United Nations-UNESCO Seminar on teaching about the United Nations.) His factual account of United Nations developments is reliable, based upon extensive official documentation and information derived from obviously close personal acquaintance with the Secretariat. Moreover, his exposition of national poli-

cies in the United Nations is fair, depending principally upon the direct statements of delegates, selected with a reasonable regard for their context.

The most valuable part of the book is the comprehensive discussion of United Nations action on economic and social questions. This functional phase of the organization has not previously been presented so vividly and with such thoroughness to the layman. The operations of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the Economic Commission for Europe, the technical assistance program, the Trusteeship System, and the specialized agencies are reviewed sympathetically but with realistic awareness of the political and other obstacles which have blocked their maximum effectiveness. In addition, a blunt and refreshingly candid chapter on "The Veto and Unanimity" dispels much of the fog which has beclouded public discussions of this procedural question. McLaurin convincingly points out that, in fact, the veto has *not* been responsible for the discomfiture of the United Nations on vital political issues, except where the contemplated action might have led to a world war.

PHILIP E. JACOB

University of Pennsylvania

CORBETT, P. E. *Law and Society in the Relations of States*. Pp. xii, 337. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1951. \$4.75

This study of international law, published under the auspices of the Yale Institute of International Studies, establishes a position somewhere between a skeptical radical denial of any binding rule between nations and the claim that nations are subject to a complete system of international legal order. The latter idea, which has guided academic treatment of the subject for centuries, is not even well founded in its own theoretical terms, according to Corbett's searching analysis of the main systems of juristic thought.

He concludes that neither the apostles of natural law nor advocates of the various positivistic consent-theories have suc-

ceeded in furnishing a consistent explanation of international law without having grossly to distort the relevant facts. The same is true of the closely related concept of a society of nations which in many of these theoretical systems figures as an explicit or implicit premise.

The practices of governments can hardly be reconciled with the assumption of a world society. Furthermore, the concept of such a society stands in direct contradiction to the notion of the sovereignty of its "subjects." Nor can we infer the existence of this society from the functioning of international organizations, since the latter are really but associations for specific purposes rather than manifestations of an over-all system. The idea of a society of nations is also constantly refuted when legal "obligations" of states to that alleged society receive second billing behind national statutes in courts which have to decide a conflict between the two systems. In short, there is no international law and no international society, and the effort to classify the usages of nations under these concepts the usages of nations under these concepts "involves wasteful self-deception and misdirection of energy, and leads to false expectations on the part of the public."

Is there then nothing but arbitrariness? Are the cynics right? No, says Corbett, there is a certain degree of social coordination depending on an "active but fluctuating and limited consensus." These conventions are something less than full-fledged legal rules. They are in a constant process of modification by pressure in which the might of the great powers plays a predominant role. This, while not approaching the regularity and predictability of national legal orders, is nevertheless useful. In the light of that thesis, the main body of the book surveys the foci of those conventions (such as territory, nationality, immunity, responsibility, war, and neutrality), showing both their regulating effect and their susceptibility to political forces. The most that can be expected from these "rules" is a slowing down of the pace of adaptation and some assurance against political action for frivolous reasons.

As one might gather, "rules" concerning war and warfare are more than others dependent on political conditions. This realization leads Corbett to the last part of his book in which he deals with international organization which alone, so he says, can remove the causes of armed conflict and thereby prepare the way for a genuine order of world law. With the cool detachment which characterizes most of the book, Corbett appraises the United Nations and finds it "legally powerless (in the case of conflict between the permanent members) to enforce its obligations." He concludes that the United Nations as "a society including the Soviet Union" has but marginal competence "in the sense that it does not reach to the great issues dividing our world."

At this point, Corbett abandons the sober judgment which has guided him so far in the study and proposes to base a more effective organization on "the international protection of the individual," that is, on an international guarantee of human rights. He seems to be unaware of the fact that this is a matter in which even the federal government of this country finds it unwise to assert its might against dissident regional conventions. It is difficult to see how he expects this most sensitive spot in a community's sense of independence to become fertile ground for the growth of international organization. Anyone who, like this reviewer, finds it beyond himself to accept Corbett's proposal as a realistic plan must close the book with the disappointed feeling that the largely negative insights of Corbett's study have not conduced him to the threshold of any rational guidance about where to go from here.

GERHART NIEMEYER

Washington, D. C.

KELSEN, HANS. *Recent Trends in the Law of the United Nations*. (A Supplement to *The Law of the United Nations*). Pp. 909-994 (continuous numbering). New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1951. \$2.50.

The North Atlantic Treaty, the action in Korea, the subsequent adoption of the Uniting for Peace Resolution in the United

Nations, and the representation of China are developments of such importance that Kelsen found it necessary to deal with them in a separately published eighty-page supplement to his *Law of the United Nations*. In this, as in the main work, he confines himself to presenting different logical meanings of the documents, preferring not to concern himself with the political overtones which might also be taken into account. Thus, for instance, he finds that it is possible to infer from the Charter that the decisions of the Security Council regarding North Korean aggression were illegal because of the absence of the Soviet delegate, but that it is equally possible to conclude that they were legal, the Charter admitting both interpretations. Here, as elsewhere, Kelsen's preoccupation with formal words detached from the circumstances which give them color and meaningful effect leads him to unrealistic results, since he overlooks the fact that the Security Council itself settled this question. It assumed its right not to be thwarted by an absentee member, and fifty-three nations by their actions honored this assumption.

At one point only does he seem to deviate from this noncommittal attitude. Examining the Uniting for Peace Resolution he states that "it can hardly be denied that the United Nations under this Resolution assumes the character of an international organization very different from that which the framers of the Charter had in mind. The system of collective security established by this Resolution is much nearer to that established by the Government of the League of Nations than to that intended by the framers of the Charter." If this statement is meant to convey doubt as to the legality of the Resolution, it would seem to derive from somewhat vague general notions about the nature of the U.N. and the League rather than from Kelsen's own strictly formal premises. Moreover, it would appear to treat as legally irrelevant the fact that fifty-two nations, in voting for the Resolution, obviously deemed it to be in accord with the Charter.

Kelsen does not incline to attribute a similarly incisive effect to the develop-

ment of a system of regional defense pacts which he considers an aspect of, rather than an alternative to, a global collective security organization.

GERHART NIEMEYER

Washington, D. C.

ASCHER, CHARLES S. *Program-Making in UNESCO, 1946-1951*. Pp. ix, 84. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1951. \$2.50.

This is an account of program-making in United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization during its formative years by one who during a substantial part of the period participated as a staff officer in the actual processes which he describes. Furthermore, the author brought to his work in the Organization and to the analysis which he now gives us an extensive experience in the study and practice of public administration. The result is an exceptionally useful analysis and evaluation of UNESCO experience. The teacher and student of international organization, as well as the practitioner, are greatly in debt to Mr. Ascher for this case study. It can only be hoped that in addition to making this valuable contribution to our understanding of program-making in international organizations, he has also established a pattern of scientific inquiry which will be followed by others with similar, if not equal, competence and opportunity.

Dr. Ascher's account covers the period during which Dr. Julian Huxley was Director-General, from late 1946 through 1948, and in lesser detail, the first two years of the Bodet regime. He covers the work of the first five sessions of the Conference as well as the work of the Executive Board during this period. For the period of the author's active participation in the Secretariat, corresponding roughly to the directorship of Dr. Huxley, he gives in great detail the actual sequence and interrelationship of events. For the remainder of the period the account is less detailed and ceases to be based on first-hand experience. Consequently, one loses somewhat the feeling of participation in a vital process which for the earlier period the author is able to convey.

Mr. Asher's thesis is that the processes of program-making must be evaluated in terms of their success in achieving "balance and harmony in the program," "proper emphasis and concentration of effort," adequate co-ordination, the fixing of responsibility, "manage-ability" as well as economy, and the operation of each organ "on its proper level." His major conclusions with respect to UNESCO are that "only the self-restraint of Member States and better internal organizations of governments for participation in the work of UNESCO can assure balance, harmony, and concentration in the final decisions on program, and that if UNESCO is to develop "a corporate tradition of its own, above rivalry and self-seeking of regionalism or specialism, it must look to the Director-General for leadership." This leadership, Dr. Ascher concludes, must be "responsible, human leadership" which "evokes institutional loyalty."

Dr. Ascher recognizes the special difficulties of the first formative years of UNESCO. He also sees clearly the difficulties arising from the wide range of UNESCO's concerns which require of the Director-General exceptional intellectual qualities combined with administrative skill, besides putting exceptional strains on participating governments. He is nevertheless basically optimistic, in the light of his own experience, regarding the possibilities of making UNESCO an effective working organization.

LELAND M. GOODRICH

Columbia University

BESTERMAN, THEODORE. *UNESCO: Peace in the Minds of Men*. Pp. xi, 133. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1951. \$2.50.

On the correct assumption that UNESCO should be better understood by the public, Mr. Besterman has detailed his account of its aims and accomplishments in a manner that will be found both readable and informative to the general reader. The book embodies the observations of a man who from 1946 to 1949 held a high position in the organization as head of the Department for the Exchange of Informa-

tion; it makes no pretense of scholarly research into documentary materials.

Mr. Besterman's description of the work of UNESCO begins with its efforts to promote education up to a fundamental minimum standard, particularly in parts of the world where illiteracy has been common. In later chapters he explains the work of the organization in the fields of science, the social sciences and humanities, reconstruction, mass information, and the exchange of persons. It is not surprising that he has found that "none of the disciplines is better organized on the international level than science," and that the social sciences and humanities have been "much less adequately organized."

The most interesting chapter of the book is the last one (Chapter VI) on criticisms and conclusions. As might be expected, the first point which the author makes in this chapter is UNESCO's lack of funds; its annual income of about \$8 million, so he says, is approximately one-twentieth of the amounts spent by the member states on cultural propaganda. Mr. Besterman objects to the strict control now exercised by the annual conference over UNESCO's activities, and he questions the wisdom of the present principle of equal voting rights in the conference. He is critical of the "intellectual narrowness and inertia" of the delegates to the conference, as well as of their "financial niggardliness." The national commissions, he believes, have become too important, acting as the principal agencies by which UNESCO can make formal contact with member states. He is somewhat disturbed at the rapid turnover in the personnel of UNESCO. Although these criticisms seem both numerous and substantial considering that the author asserted in his preface that he did not intend "to pick holes" in the organization, they are presented without rancor.

The usefulness of the book is increased by bibliographies appended to each chapter. The Constitution of UNESCO is provided at the end of the volume. Pictures displaying phases of UNESCO's work will be of interest to some readers.

NORMAN HILL

University of Nebraska

NEWMAN, BERNARD. *Epics of Espionage*. Pp. 270. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. \$4.50.

This book is not a study of the institution of espionage, but a popular account of leading spies; it deals with actions more than motivations, with strategems and techniques to a greater extent than with the organization of spy systems. The time span is from Moses to Klaus Fuchs. The absorbing interest of the material outweighs carelessness as to style and silence as to sources. Newman does not overwrite; he does not gush; he does not romanticize the frequently sinister and sordid figures who crowd his pages.

A well-known British authority on the bizarre world of spydom, Newman is at his best in dealing with pre-Soviet European espionage. Avoiding the overpublicized and rather inept Mata Hari, he concentrates on the *strategic* spies—those whose activity was on a sufficiently grand scale to turn the tide of wars, not merely battles. From Napoleon's Schulmeister, who was "all brains and no heart," he turns to Stieber, the creator of the Bismarckian espionage bureaucracy. There is a succinct treatment of the Dreyfus case. Colonel Alfred Redl, the homosexual who betrayed the Dual Monarchy to the Czar from within the Austrian military counterintelligence, emerges as one of the most resourceful agents in modern history. Newman is also to be commended for giving Tyler Kent the place he deserves in any international gallery of infamy. This minor American diplomatic official betrayed both the "unbreakable" State Department code and the Churchill-Roosevelt cables to the Nazis. Had he remained undetected, he might have won the war for Hitler. The espionage accomplishment of Alger Hiss is minor by comparison.

Lucid and interesting accounts of the gallant Polish underground organization which saved London from V-bomb demolition, of the fantastic Trebitsch Lincoln, of Paul Dukes who served England from inside Lenin's Cheka, and of many others are interspersed with much firsthand information.

A minor weakness of the book is its

treatment of the American War Between the States. A major weakness is the routine exposition of Soviet spying. Projecting his vast knowledge of espionage on the new canvas of Soviet Communism, Newman tends to search for identities, rather than significant differences. To be sure, he is aware of the fact that the professional spy is becoming obsolete and is giving place to the indoctrinated traitor in high places. The changes brought about by atomic warfare, however, are not analyzed. For the first time in history, subversion of the outstanding scientific minds of a nation—minds which are normally incorruptible—has become the primary target. Technological and other factors may have made espionage most decisive in prewar, rather than in actual combat, conditions.

NATHANIEL WEYL

Washington, D. C.

MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA, VICE-ADMIRAL THE EARL. *Report to the Combined Chiefs of Staff by the Supreme Allied Commander: South-East Asia 1943-1945*. Pp xi, 280, 47 maps and charts, New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. \$12.00.

This is a literarily unadorned, factual official report, generally chronological in make-up and subdivided into: Introduction, Strategy and Operations, Civil Affairs, and Conclusions. Not designed for light reading, it will be a primary source for historians and students of the South-East Asia Theater, the one least known to Americans and one whose priority on troops and supplies was low.

The military student will discover a brilliant ground campaign in almost roadless country planned and executed by General Sir William Slim, now Chief of the British Imperial Staff, against numerically superior Japanese forces possessing better communications. His troops were principally British-led Indian, East African, and West African. Their exploits remind us that good soldiers are limited to no race but are the products of morale, leadership, training, and adequate equipment.

The United States never furnished more than about 6,000 combat troops but had by the end of the war more than 270,000 in the theater. The difference consisted of service personnel mostly engaged in road, railroad, pipe line, and airfield construction and maintenance.

The most valuable lessons are in the field of logistics and organization. "It was air supply alone which made the campaign in Burma a feasible proposition." Air drops supported surrounded units for as much as a fortnight until they achieved victory. Korea is not new in this respect, and it is of interest that our first Air Commander in Korea, General Stratemeyer, was Allied Air Chief in Burma. Of him Mounbatten says he "provided an outstanding example of how an Allied Air Commander should conduct himself."

On the other hand Mountbatten had sharp differences with his first American deputy, General Stilwell, partly due to Stilwell's many hats, including the one he wore as Chief of Staff to Generalissimo Chiang. The comment that "General Stilwell was succeeded by three Lieutenant-Generals, each of whom had at least two entirely separate functions" sum up the organizational enormities and diverse loyalties involved. Disagreements also arose between Mountbatten and Lieutenant General Wedemeyer when the latter replaced Stilwell in China after loyal service as Mountbatten's chief planner.

These disputes came fundamentally from the divergent aims of the Allies. The Americans' principal interest was aid to China. The British primary objective was the reconquest of Burma, Malaya, and Singapore. Mountbatten attempts and achieves a very fair statement of these differences, but one reads more between the lines than appears in the carefully chosen phrases of this official document.

EUSTACE M. PEIXOTTO

Brigadier General, U. S. A. Ret.

Washington, D. C.

LAMONT, CORLISS, *The Independent Mind; Essays of a Humanist Philosopher*. Pp. 187. New York: Horizon Press, 1951. \$2.75.

The weaknesses, not less than the strengths of this book, arise from the author's conviction of the duty of independent mindedness, and from his consciousness of the snares and gins set in the path of a humanist, too readily ensnared by carelessness or unwariness. Mr. Lamont's tone is invariably generous and elevated; and the breadth of his sensitivity to nature and to art, and his sympathy toward the dignity and the suffering of persons, both in the abstract and within his own culture, deserves its full meed of praise. Likewise, however much may be said against the possibility of a metaphysics or of an ethics which postulates the ultimacy and the self-sufficiency of man, the attempt to discover and develop a purely humanist philosophy, to draw out its full implications for the social order, is a worthy undertaking in an age when widespread unbelief readily leads to extreme skepticism, to cynicism, and to an ethical positivism which in effect ends with a rejection of values. Similarly, an independence of mind which courageously opposes illiberal intolerance and craven fear as unworthy of the upright individual as, in their unwarranted lack of confidence, they are deleterious to the collective American people, deserves commendation.

To attack herd prejudices and misrepresentations based on inability to face, or refusal to acknowledge, plain facts in our own society, is an insistent job for any critic. Similarly, it is desirable to avoid the folly of misrepresenting and of underestimating our opponent, in this case the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is praiseworthy to possess the magnanimity of sympathetic understanding of institutions and behavior patterns alien to our own, and even abhorrent to us. It is, finally, the part of wisdom to seek to avoid armed conflict, to be prepared and even eager to meet with our opponent, to make every effort consistent with our own integrity to reach temporary accommodations and (if it is in any way possible) lasting understanding.

On the basis of these essays alone, both by reason of their tone and their statement, I am prepared to accept it that Dr. Lamont is a humanist philosopher con-

cerned with the well-being of humanity in all times and places and under all conditions; that he desires to be a friendly yet understanding critic of the Soviet Union, not less than of ourselves; that he stresses our own sins because it is us whom he is addressing; and that his insistence that he is not a Communist, or a very close fellow traveler, is a sincere, honest, and true avowal. Yet I am forced thereupon to conclude that his teaching is doubly dangerous by reason of that very sincerity, good will, and noble elevation of tone.

One may readily grant that the Soviet regime must have some appeal, some promise, and some real achievements to its credit, to hold the loyalty of its own people and to win that of others. Mere force alone, even aided by effective propaganda, cannot create loyalty, devotion, and indeed idolatry, even if it could (which is doubtful) keep vast populations subdued and orderly. Had the regime no appeal and no accomplishments, economic or otherwise, the present concern of America, of the Atlantic powers, and of a major portion of the United Nations would be, not simply folly, but quite incomprehensible folly.

Unfortunately, Mr. Lamont's determination to be independent leads him to lean over backward; to deny the full horror of totalitarianism, which includes slave labor camps as well as absence of civil liberties generally; to insist, with a technical correctness only equalled by its complete lack of perception, that Russia did not intervene in the Korean struggle; to insist that it is consequently pacific and we in essence aggressive; and to argue the need for an honest search on our part for conversations looking toward peace, with a quite fantastic ignoring of the actual record of the U.S.S.R. in conferences at Lake Success, as well as in other negotiations.

Similarly, Mr. Lamont insists that Communist dictatorship must be distinguished from the Fascist brand because of the universalism of its ethical aspirations, as against the insistent and utterly inhumane particularism of, for instance, the Nazis. That its formal doctrine of a classless

society and of equality as between men is of this character there is no need to deny. But it is surely error, and an error paradoxically based on the acceptance of national particularism, to fail to observe that the doctrine of class struggle, whatever its end, is also particularist and excludes from genuine consideration all those persons who are, or are defined to be, class enemies.

At root I think Mr. Lamont's error is the naïveté of his nobility, and his deviation in his determination to be independent and humane from the straight and narrow line of upright impartiality.

Behind this error lurks another: a purely naturalist humanist, with his roots in eighteenth century rationalism, he tends in his optimistic search for human emancipation to forget, even as he attacks prejudice and error, the ambivalent character of man, his proneness to sin, and the tragedy and uncertainty of his lot, which is inherent and not external. It is no doubt proper and necessary to attack that despair and resignation which may in some religious viewpoints lead to inactivity, as it is necessary to undermine that excessive sense of sin which prevents joy even as it inhibits the creative release of human energies. But a doctrine which, save for its acknowledgment of the limits of external conditions, is in essence one of perfectability, though it may be used effectively as criticism of actual imperfections, does not lead to the calm, balanced, disinterestedness which is needful for effective judgment and wise action in a world at present bi-polar. There reason itself would seem to indicate that, whatever our real defects which need criticism, we are, alike in ideal and in the proximity of actuality to ideal—however great the distance between—yet on balance right.

It is our duty, as it is our interest, to understand the Soviet regime. It is likewise essential, for purposes of moral sanitation, to perceive our own mote. But theirs is the beam. That its presence and nature make accommodation without surrender hard, and that they make failure of preparedness folly, are evaluations surely not to be rejected by any man who seeks

to further the causes of democracy, freedom, and human dignity.

—THOMAS I. COOK

The Johns Hopkins University

*AMERICAN GOVERNMENT,
HISTORY, LAW, AND
POLITICAL THEORY*

GRIFFITH, ERNEST S. *Congress: Its Contemporary Role*. Pp. vii, 193. New York: New York University Press, 1951. \$3.50.

If Congress awarded an Oscar each year for the best book about itself, the present work would be a worthy candidate. This slim volume embodying the James Stokes Lectures on Politics at New York University is a timely contribution to the voluminous literature on our national legislature.

The prevailing impression of Congress is familiar: an unwieldy, undisciplined assembly, overwhelmed by the volume and complexity of modern governmental responsibilities, assailed by the special interests and outgeneraled by the bureaucracy. From his vantage point of ten years' intimate observation, including much personal participation in matters directly linked with the daily work of Congress, the author has a different story to tell. Mr. Griffith asks a practical question: Is Congress discharging its responsibility under the Constitution? His answer, which will come as a surprise to many people including some political scientists, is a definite affirmative.

Congress does not function in accordance with any text book theory of governance. When its pattern of behavior is judged upon the basis of theories of party responsibility the Congressional performance seems chaotic. Yet business is transacted, and the public interest seems to prevail. Running through its complex operations is a definite and consistent logic of procedure.

Leadership is present, recognized, and utilized in both houses, but partisan leadership is only one element. Political party though never absent does not hold the

crucial place because in the legislative process party is often collateral and supplementary rather than central. Specialized knowledge of the subject in question rather than party affiliation tends to be the accepted index of influence in legislation which is, in the main, the joint product of bipartisan effort.

By its reluctance to go counter to a committee recommendation, by its tendency to accept the principle of specialization and to look to different people for guidance on different subjects, and by its increasingly systematic use of experts outside its membership but in its employ Congress has recaptured much of its constitutional role as the independent policy determiner.

Mr. Griffith is impressed with the wisdom, honesty, and responsibility of the many independent individuals within Congress who identify the public interest in any particular issue and who work effectively to maintain a general balance in policy. He believes that this tough spirit of independence provides the surest defense against the ubiquitous special interests. Not less important, it serves as a governor when party and executive influence threaten to move too rapidly. His comments upon party responsibility are particularly perceptive and thought provoking. It is to be hoped that they will receive the close attention of those who contend that party responsibility must be built into congressional organization and procedure.

L. H. CHAMBERLAIN

Columbia University

MALONE, DUMAS. *Jefferson and the Rights of Man*. Pp. xxix, 523. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951. \$6.00.

This volume is the sequel to *Jefferson the Virginian* in Dumas Malone's "Jefferson and His Times," a work originally projected as a four-volume biography, but one which will be extended to include a fifth. The thoroughness and skill of Dr. Malone probably will make this the most important biography of Thomas Jefferson in our generation.

Jefferson and the Rights of Man covers the years from 1784 to 1793, a period when Jefferson was closely associated with the foreign affairs of the United States—first as minister to France during the preliminaries and early phase of the French Revolution, and then as Secretary of State during the formative stages of the federal executive departments.

In this volume Jefferson is portrayed as a genteel Virginia gentleman with rather expensive tastes, who admired feminine and architectural beauty, possessed a keen, observant mind especially in agriculture and politics, and promoted the liberation of mankind in France unobtrusively without becoming a doctrinaire or neglecting the duties and proprieties of his office. He is described, too, as a minister, who represented all the interests of America without sectional bias, working as hard to secure French markets for New England whale oil as to promote the opening of the Mississippi to American navigation or the development of new European markets for Southern tobacco. In debts, both foreign and domestic, Dr. Malone finds him to be a scrupulously honest conservative, opposed to inflation of the currency and repudiation of pre-Revolutionary debts that were owed to British merchants by Southern planters.

Not least among the contributions of this book to an understanding of Jefferson and his times is its interpretation of him not as an immediatist but as a gradualist. A son of the Enlightenment, he was certain that mankind would make more progress through open discussion and free education than through social upheaval. This attitude helps to explain his continued friendship for Edmund Pendleton and other avowed moderates and his dislike for Henry, who was often impetuous.

Some other significant conclusions are: that Jefferson's years in France "served only to confirm him in the fundamental philosophy he had already adopted" (p. xxii); that "the traditional picture of Jefferson the politician . . . is largely the creation of Hamilton and his partisans" (p. xxiii); that Jefferson was not led blindly by Hamilton into support of the bill for the assumption of state debts

(pp. 297-301); and that Hamilton, "more than any other major American statesman of his time, lusted for personal as well as national power" (p. xxii).

ROBERT LEROY HILLDRUP

The University of Virginia

BELLAMY, FRANCIS RUFUS. *The Private Life of George Washington*. Pp. v, 409. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1951. \$5.00.

When Mr. Bellamy undertook to produce a popular, one-volume life of George Washington, he assigned himself a most difficult task. There are not enough good secondary works on the subject to enable the amateur historian to write such a book within a relatively short time. To do the work from the sources would require forty years of unremitting labor. Mr. Bellamy's varied career as a dairy farmer, playwright, song writer, Broadway producer, book salesman, and free lance magazine writer has not afforded the time for the extensive research that is required for the study of even a limited phase of the career of the greatest figure in political history.

The title of the volume suggests a limited treatment. But Mr. Bellamy has not confined himself to the private life of Washington. Most of the work deals with the public career. But as an inclusive biography, the result is far from satisfactory. It runs down at the end. After devoting sixty-five pages to Washington's public activities in the 1750's, Mr. Bellamy disposes of the presidency in twenty-four pages.

His failure flows in part from the nature of the subject. Washington's career was one of continuous action in a series of intricate events that covered nearly forty years. He usually acted in complex situations, which must be explained if the reader is to understand what he did, how he did it, and the influence he exerted. Only through such a study can one discover what manner of man he was.

Mr. Bellamy has not gained a mastery of the situations in which Washington acted. He has not used the vast collection of Washington's papers, without which no satisfactory study of this sort is pos-

sible. When isolated from the context of events, Washington appears as suspended in mid-air. He was so much a part of his world that his biographer must have a thorough knowledge of the history of the times. This Mr. Bellamy does not have. He is an intelligent observer; his attitude is admirable; and at some points he displays insight into Washington's character.

Based largely on the biography by Rupert Hughes, which has been carried only to 1781, Mr. Bellamy's work is glaringly inadequate for the part of Washington's life after that year. The book has little interest or value to scholars. Nor can it be recommended to lay readers. Mr. Bellamy did not have the sort of mastery of the material that might have enabled him to make intelligible to the uninitiated the many complex episodes of Washington's life.

CURTIS P. NETTELS

Cornell University

MORISON, ELTING E. (Ed.). *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*. Vols. III and IV: "The Square Deal, 1901-1905." Pp. xvi, 710; viii, 711-1438. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951. \$20.00.

This is the second two-volume set of Theodore Roosevelt's letters to appear under the editorship of Morison and his associates. The first set covered *The Years of Preparation*, and the sets to follow will bring us *The Big Stick* and *The Days of Armageddon*. *The Square Deal* volumes contain over seventeen hundred significant and representative letters of some twenty thousand Roosevelt wrote during the four-year period. The editing maintains the same high standard that characterized the first set, editorial comment being held to the minimum and presented with painstaking care. The notations will richly reward the diligent reader.

We have long supposed that Roosevelt's family life was ideal. These letters settle the matter absolutely. He was inordinately proud of "mother" and most considerate of her. As for the children, he talked to them, read to them, played almost every

conceivable game with them ("bear" was their favorite), and spanked them when they misbehaved. With equal verve he could "spank some little brigand of a South American republic" (p. 1328), and refer to his critics as asses, jacks (he seldom combined the two), liars, and scoundrels. "Colonel is the title I am proudest of," he wrote (p. 854), and often he proclaimed his joy at being in the White House. He was a stickler for the dignity of his office, wrathfully pronouncing as an "outrageous impertinence" the action of a lawyer in referring to him by a nickname (p. 392).

Even-handedly he could denounce the "hopeless attitude" of capital or management and an "arrogant and domineering" labor union, and in 1902 he achieved a notable success in bringing about a settlement in the anthracite coal strike. He skillfully used the tariff revision issue in which he was not greatly interested as a basis for a bargain on railroad legislation for which he believed the need was urgent. With about the same skill he succeeded in bringing Russia and Japan to the Portsmouth Peace Conference. Always he was the politician, knowing when to move and how far it was safe to advance.

He corresponded with practically every statesman, politician, or writer of consequence and he "lectured" some of them. He showed great confidence in and admiration for Henry Cabot Lodge, John Hay, Elihu Root, Leonard Wood, Nicholas Murray Butler, William Howard Taft, and a number of less famous persons. "Woodrow Wilson is a perfect trump," he wrote. "I am overjoyed at his election" (p. 275) as President of Princeton University.

Disclaiming genius, he reasoned that his success was achieved by supplementing ordinary ability with "the requisite industry, judgment and foresight" (p. 1282). Why his great popularity? His intelligence, his common sense, and his unyielding moral character hardly explain it. It may be due in part at least to his display, in relatively attractive form, of some popular prejudices, a little intolerance, a certain jingoism, and a marked

tendency to see only black or white, traits that numbered him with ordinary men and caused them to see in him a greatly magnified image of themselves.

CLAUDIUS O. JOHNSON

The State College of Washington

HELLER, FRANCIS H. *The Sixth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: A Study in Constitutional Development*. Pp. 195. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1951. \$3.50.

This essay of 151 pages of text plus 44 pages of notes and references is an excellent brief discussion of an important part of the Constitution. The Sixth Amendment says: "In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence."

Chapters I and II deal with the historical background of the amendment in the English and colonial law, respectively. They show that the rights guaranteed by it were, at the time of its adoption, of recent origin, and that expansive statements such as that of Mr. Justice Story that Magna Carta granted trial by jury in any form comparable to that which the draftsmen of the amendment had in mind were mistaken by some centuries. The chapter on "Colonial Experiences" shows that the jury systems of the several states were so different that it would have been impossible for the writers of the amendment to have been specific in describing a jury without jeopardizing the adoption of the amendment. This makes it surprising that the Supreme Court was able to conclude that the amendment required a jury of twelve who must unanimously agree upon their verdict.

Chapter III, "Scope and Application of

the Amendment," shows that the Supreme Court has been able to read the words "in all criminal prosecutions" as not applying to petty offenses, though it has had difficulty in defining what are petty offenses. The interesting cases involving the questions whether the amendment imposed the jury system on the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands when they became United States territory or whether these territories could continue to use the only systems of trial with which they were familiar are well discussed. They show that a constitutional text can be tempered, in its application, by practical sense. Mr. Justice Brown's statement in the Hawaiian case that trial by jury was not a right that was fundamental in nature is noticed and adverted to later in the book.

The requirement of an impartial jury is discussed principally in connection with the cases tried in the District of Columbia with government employees sitting on juries in which the government was prosecuting.

In Chapter V the requirements of definiteness in the indictment, confrontation by witnesses, and compulsory process are treated. None of these has given rise to extensive litigation. But the subject of Chapter VI, the "Right of Counsel," has taken on new life in recent decades, with the concurrence of all the judges. The applicability of the right to the varied fact situations has, however, split the Supreme Court in numerous cases which are acutely analyzed by the author.

Chapter VII, "Crime and the Ideal of a Fair Trial," is a comment on the whole amendment. It shows how time and circumstances have changed current ideas of the importance of the different rights named in the amendment, increasing some and diminishing others. The author seems to agree with the tendency to diminish the importance of trial by jury, and increase that of the right of counsel. It is hard to imagine that a Fourth of July orator, referring to a Paladium of our liberties, could make as much of the latter as of the former.

This is an excellent book, full of interesting history, intelligent analyses of

decisions, and good philosophy of government.

J. WARREN MADDEN

United States Court of Claims

NYE, RUSSEL B. *Midwestern Progressive Politics: A Historical Study of Its Origins and Development, 1870-1950*. Pp. 422. East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State College Press, 1951. \$5.00.

"When it came to rock bottom, the Mid-west farmer wanted, as he always had, a good market with high prices, control of his own government, more currency, easier credit and good times." This is the fundamental explanation, according to the author, of the middlewestern farmer's rather strange political activity in the rocky 1930's, and this is the explanation of the middle border's excursion into the green-back movement, the granger crusade, populism, and twentieth-century progressivism.

In this very well written synthesis, Professor Nye sees the farmer's economic discontent as the almost exclusive driving force of middlewestern reform politics. He also detects a straight-line progression in these reform parties since Civil War days. It was because of his thin pocket book rather than his pinched soul that the middlewestern farmer, according to the author, contributed so much to American "socialized politics" in the last hundred years. And by implication at least, although it is not so explicitly stated, this pinch-penny explanation of reform must account in large part for the bleak political toriyism of the Midwest today. For the once lean, individualistic, democratic, and radical-minded farmer has grown fat with government subsidy, and thus has become a follower of Capehart, Dirksen, McCarthy, and Wherry.

One of the main difficulties with this simple relationship of economics and farm politics is that it leaves so many things, particularly about the twentieth century, unanswered. As Professor Nye has pointed out, it was during the first decade of the twentieth century that most of the reforms urged by the grangers and the populists were actually accomplished. But it was also precisely during those years that the American farmer was enjoying the most

prosperous days he had experienced since the Civil War. For an explanation of the seeming paradox one will have to dig a lot deeper along the fault lines of American politics than the author has done.

Professor Nye has, of course, devoted some of his time to a discussion of factors other than economic in the conditioning of the progressive mind. He has a good chapter on the capture of the ivory tower. But it is still rather disappointing to find a professor of English and American literature devoting so little of his time to things of the mind, to literary expression, and to the basic psychological drifts of the American mentality. Apparently the author has not used much, if any, manuscript material nor middlewestern newspapers in his research. It is probably for this reason that his book is strong in areas where Buck, Hicks, Destler, Curti, and others have preceded him with basic research. And this, perhaps, accounts for the fact that there are so few new ideas in the volume. At times the author's sense of chronology and some of his statements on local and state politics are a bit weird.

GEORGE E. MOWRY

University of California
Los Angeles

SALOUTOS, THEODORE, and JOHN D. HICKS. *Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900-1939*. Pp. viii, 581. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951. \$6.75.

Weighed by its content, this is a big book and an important contribution to the knowledge of the politics of agriculture in the United States and the agrarian side of American democracy in action. It offers the key to the secret of how the American farmers gained the extraordinary political power which for the last twenty years has determined to so large an extent the social and economic legislative measures of the nation.

After fourteen years of unprecedented prosperity for American agriculture, the subject of the serious discontent that stirred among the farmers for several generations is still as timely as it is timeless.

As historians, the authors have traced

the social unrest among farmers and rural people and the evolution of the farm movement back to the beginnings in the region they call the Western Middle West—Wisconsin and Minnesota, Illinois and Iowa, the two Dakotas and Nebraska, Missouri and Kansas. In their view this has been the critical area in which the resentment of the farmers against their position of inferiority compared with other economic groups took the form of a host of interconnected movements and was progressively transformed into political action.

The authors do not attempt to weigh the political unrest and its active contribution to the shaping of American institutions by comparison with other national regions and their performance. They achieve their purpose by a series of separate monographs on the major individual movements which succeeded the Grangers, Greenbackers, and Populists of the nineteenth century. The reader is made acquainted with the political atmosphere left by populism and the insurgents' concern for institutional assurances that the people could really govern themselves; with their fight for the direct primary, the initiative, and the referendum; and with efforts to capture for the people the machinery of government. The reforms by Robert M. La Follette in Wisconsin which led to drastic changes in railroad taxation and regulation of public utilities, the reforms by Governor Cummins in Iowa, Governor Johnson in Minnesota, Governor Folk in Missouri, and others in other states, are treated as one major phase of action arising out of discontent.

Two chapters deal with the history of the farmers' co-operative movement as the initiative, motivated by distrust and resentment against the trade and the commodity exchanges, to make farming more profitable. However, three other chapters seem to this reviewer to have been exceptionally well written and illuminating. They deal with the American Society of Equity and the Non-Partisan League—the most spectacular and colorful of all agrarian movements. The discussion lays bare many strands in present-day politics which otherwise would remain obscure and inexplicable. The temporary collaboration

between the radical agrarians and the Socialist Party of North Dakota and the attempt to solve the marketing problem by state ownership of nearly all facilities, such as warehouses, elevators, and terminals, is a particularly revealing phase.

Of the League, which reached its peak in 1918, the authors say: "The actual organizing of the farmers was one of the most dramatic aspects of the League, for it had gathered together one of the most artful groups of radical writers and speakers the nation had ever seen. They were thoroughly saturated with radical doctrines, techniques of indoctrination, and large scale organization methods. In knowledge of mass psychology they were unsurpassed."

In five chapters the authors treat the formation of the farm bloc in the United States Congress and its legislative activities from 1920 to 1923, third-party ideologies, the McNary-Haugen movement, Herbert Hoover's Farm Board and its failure, and the Farmers' Holiday Association and its strikes.

Finally it is shown how the New Deal Agricultural Adjustment Administration program attempted to cope with the mass insolvency and the distress and discontent of farmers, who were still most articulate and politically effective in the Western Middle West.

The strength of the book lies in the fact that nowhere does it attempt to appraise the economic situations or the remedies proposed and enacted, but throughout gives a concise and detached review of the political course of events, revealing the ideas and motives which made the movements move. The reader also obtains good portraits of the majority of the men who were decisive as political leaders of the farmers.

This is a most welcome and long needed history of a strategic area and era in politics, government, and agricultural policy.

KARL BRANDT

Stanford University

DAHL, ROBERT A., and RALPH S. BROWN, JR. *Domestic Control of Atomic Energy*. Pp. v, 117. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951. \$1.00.

A condition of semimobilization sometimes comes as a relief when the emergency demands that the familiar nagging questions—the housekeeping problems—be dropped for the time being in order to give full attention to immediate over-riding necessities. But when the emergency is over the problems still remain and have to be solved.

The pamphlet entitled "Domestic Control of Atomic Energy" by Messrs. Dahl and Brown poses a whole set of the questions in the field of atomic energy with which this country sooner or later is going to have to deal—questions of a type with which social scientists are familiar and where their assistance can be invaluable in finding answers. Among the topics which are raised for discussion are questions of public control, communication of information, appraisal of results, Commission organization, Commission-owned towns, and, finally, the ultimate role of private enterprise in atomic energy. Atomic energy must eventually work into the main stream of American life. These topics must have intelligent discussion and workable answers before our major problem of how best to control atomic energy can be solved.

The authors feel that they have been hampered somewhat by the air of secrecy which surrounds a good deal of the Commission's operation. As a Commissioner, this reviewer suspects that the handicap has not been as great as the authors suppose. They have put their fingers unerringly on practically all of the questions which we on the Commission know must sooner or later be solved. They have very properly, in most cases, not gone farther than raising the points; in a few cases they have suggested ranges of answers within which probably the eventual solutions will lie.

One of our most troublesome questions, and one to which the authors have given a good deal of attention, is that of communication between people with various degrees of information and differing levels of technical understanding. We are continuously battling to maintain, for instance, fruitful, accurate lines of communication from the nuclear scientists to the Commis-

sion, and from the Commission to the proper committees of the Congress, to the Congress itself, and finally to the citizens of the country. How to keep such a line of communication effectively open without the kind of oversimplification that leads to distortion and misunderstanding, is a question which is constantly with us. There have been and will be vivid instances of failure in this respect, but, if the job is not done with reasonable effectiveness, the American people cannot come to a proper appraisal of the effort which is being made in their behalf and for which they are paying.

This pamphlet, which is really a small book, will give background for useful thinking not only among the social scientists but among that great group of interested laymen who are interested, for instance, in the "effects of secrecy on the democratic process." As a case study of an outstanding example of increasing complexity of government, the pamphlet is and will remain a fruitful source of ideas.

SUMNER T. PIKE

Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D. C.

POLANYI, MICHAEL. *The Logic of Liberty: Reflections and Rejoinders*. Pp. viii, 206. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951. \$4.00.

This is unquestionably a remarkable book. It delves into questions concerning liberty which have rarely been discussed; and it is done with rare, analytical skill and great liveliness of style. Paradoxically, its author, Professor Michael Polanyi, is an unconscious positivist who belabors positivism at every turn with positivistic fineness. In part, his opposition may lie in his refusal to accept, as basic, criteria which he constantly uses to test and substantiate his own hypotheses about liberty and planning. For the remainder, it may lie in his love of large words like "truth," "justice," and "reason," which he exploits without giving them the meticulous attention and scrutiny he turns upon other concepts like spontaneous (free) and directed (unfree) order-systems.

A number of chapters in the *Logic of Liberty* deserve careful study by every student of society whatever his political or philosophical bias. Chapter 2, "Scientific Convictions," points out the often forgotten fact that science depends upon a society of scientists and a strong, well-ordered tradition of ideas and practices without which scientific advance is well nigh impossible. Chapters 3, "Foundations of Academic Freedom," and 4, "Self-government of Science," provide the most persuasive arguments I have read anywhere for academic freedom and scientific self-government. The arguments, the theoretical basis of which Professor Polanyi develops in chapters 8 and 9, are essentially two: (a) Certain types of social orders or sub-orders of a social order—for example, scientific and educational institutions—can function only as spontaneous, that is, self-ordering, self-regulating, and self-adjusting systems. To regulate or plan such systems is, in essence, ultimately to destroy them. (2) To obtain maximum utility and good from them, society must permit them to regulate themselves. Chapters 8 and 9, which provide the theoretical framework for these conclusions, especially deserve careful study.

Original and profoundly stimulating as is Professor Polanyi, he is not immune sometimes from obvious contradiction. One example will suffice. Science, he says, is most useful to society when it is left to its own devices. Nevertheless, he adds, it is improper of society to ask, "What is its use?" No matter what science produces, it is and can only be its own justification. Yet he takes great pains to show that the freedom which science enjoys and the income it receives derive from the fact that society recognizes the scope and magnitude of its contributions to human welfare. He even admits that, if science failed to serve society or if important sectors of mankind failed to see any import to science, it might be starved for funds and even totally suppressed. Obviously, then, whatever Professor Polanyi may think, science cannot be its own justification, for it must justify its usefulness to mankind. Certainly the fact that

science needs to be free or self-regulatory is not an argument to prove that it need not justify itself; this fact serves only to prove that maximum utility of science to society depends upon maximum self-regulation.

RUBIN GOTESKY

University of Georgia

WINDOLPH, F. LYMAN. *Leviathan and Natural Law*. Pp. ix, 147. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951. \$2.50.

Not the least useful of the polarities we all nourish in our minds is that which classifies thinkers as disturbers or moderators. If the most striking and "original" books are usually the work of disturbers, mankind could hardly get along without the moderators, the men who take the fighting edge off ideas, the men who accommodate ideas to the complex world of Reality—or of realities.

Mr. Windolph belongs in this latter group. He sets himself the difficult task of moderating between Hobbes and Aquinas, between the positivist and the believer in natural law. He writes the language of law, politics, political theory, and writes it very well indeed. This little book makes most refreshing reading for anyone accustomed, but not wholly reconciled, to current American social-scientese. Mr. Windolph has read widely from Plato to Holmes. Some part of him—one can't be sure whether it is his head or his heart—is drawn to James's tender-mindedness, some part to James's tough-mindedness. But since he is a mediator by temperament, this division is no horrendous civil war in the breast, but a challenge to use his gifts for mediation.

Mr. Windolph's final words sum up his position: "In the sense in which I am using the words, government of the people means a government ordained and established by a democratic sovereign. Government by the people means a government either purely democratic or republican in form. Government for the people means a government conducted in accordance with the developing principles of natural justice. If the last is an illusion, or comes generally to be regarded

as an illusion, the first and second, will surely perish from the earth."

The historian in comment must note that Mr. Windolph's book is one more evidence of a shifting climate of opinion. The concept of natural law, so distasteful to positivist, utilitarian notions about the political process, is once more on its way to good repute. The old eighteenth-century alliance between democracy and virtue is being revived. This Mr. Windolph sees clearly. He hopes he can convince the positivist, and will not worry greatly over the mere skeptic, who is never convinced, or convincible.

CRANE BRINTON

Harvard University

BROWN, FRANCIS. *Raymond of The Times*. Pp. x, 345. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1951. \$5.00.

The pre-eminence of the *New York Times* lends to this admirable biography, by Francis Brown of the *Times* staff, of Henry J. Raymond, who founded the *Times* in 1851, an importance it would otherwise lack. If in 1896 the late Adolph S. Ochs had not taken over what little was then left of the *Times* and, by a combination of character and genius, re-created it as it is today under his successor and son-in-law, Arthur H. Sulzberger, Raymond's career would still be interesting—yet an isolated episode.

Mr. Brown has left to another member of the *Times* staff, Meyer Berger, the history of its completed century. Yet the fact which stands out in this biography is that, under the conditions which prevail today, with all the mechanical marvels which serve the collection of the news and the printing of a newspaper, the *Times*, with its literally unrivalled coverage, is a realization of the newspaper ideal which Raymond conceived one hundred years ago. Less colorful than Greeley of the *Tribune* or Bennett of the *Herald*, he was free of the whims which exposed Greeley's limitations of judgment and the unprincipled sensationalism which exposed Bennett's limitations of character. Raymond was, moreover, a great reporter himself. His feats, both as a war correspondent and as a political correspond-

ent, conspicuously served that ideal of careful, unspectacular news coverage which could be trusted then, as it is trusted today.

Second to this similarity between what the *Times* tried to do in 1851 and what it so fully accomplished in 1951 is an almost equally significant dissimilarity. The great disaster of Horace Greeley's career (also the great disaster to the liberal, independent movement of that time) was his nomination for the presidency by the reformers who, shocked at corruption under the Grant administration, met at Cincinnati in 1872. Both Greeley's avidity for public office and his unfitness for it were therefore advertised. But too many readers have forgotten that Raymond ran successfully for both the New York legislature and the House of Representatives at Washington and that he acted efficiently as Lincoln's campaign manager in 1864. In those public offices he rendered valuable service. In the columns of the *Times* and in the House he was a more consistent and sounder supporter of Lincoln than Greeley was in the *Tribune*.

But the dissimilarity is that no editor of the *Times* would today think of being a political candidate. The better tradition, by which journalism protects and strengthens its function in a democracy, and to which the *Times* has, I believe, subscribed ever since Mr. Ochs took over, is that no editor or publisher should cherish political ambitions for himself, and that by disavowing them completely he can wield a greater influence. The fact that this tradition is still too often violated does not affect its soundness.

RICHARD HOOKER

Springfield, Massachusetts

BERGER, MEYER. *The Story of The New York Times, 1851-1891*. Pp. 589. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1951. \$5.00.

When Adolph Ochs acquired *The New York Times* in 1896, he was the publisher of a country newspaper burdened by debt. Invading New York City, he acquired a nearly moribund newspaper with a circulation of only 9,000 and a debt of more than \$300,000. How he challenged his competitors and what he accomplished

with his newspaper is one of the great stories of American enterprise and ingenuity.

Out of the millions of words that flow daily into its editorial offices, *The New York Times* prints an average of 145,000 words. It employs more than 4,000 persons. In paper and payroll alone, its operation amounts to \$36,800,000 a year. On occasion, it turns down more advertising than most newspapers accept. Its current daily circulation averages more than 524,000, while the Sunday edition, which sometimes runs more than 414 pages, has a press run of more than 1,146,000.

One can speak of *The Times*, which has earned worldwide respect for American journalism, only in superlatives. No other daily publication in the mid-twentieth century keeps the records of current history so completely. For kings, statesmen, and ordinary citizens it is an indispensable source of unbiased information, for scholars it is the daily medium of contemporary history, for students it is an essential textbook. Working journalists regarded it as the newspaperman's newspaper. More than this, it has become the symbol of a free press and its function in the defense of Western civilization. It is of supreme importance to the free world at a time when the greater part of humanity is exposed to a flood of lies and distortions.

When the present reviewer and Richard B. Morris were compiling *A Treasury of Great Reporting*, which was published two years ago, we were confronted with so great an embarrassment of riches from the columns of *The Times* that we found it to be a very real problem to prevent the book from developing into *A Treasury of Great Reporting From The New York Times*. The task involved a painstaking search through tens of thousands of clippings, but every event of importance in the last century was so beautifully handled by *Times* reporters that it required the hardest kind of work to discover news stories superior to those of *The Times*. Our experience was substantiated by a careful poll of news editors throughout the country. As it was, the number of

stories from *The Times* in the anthology far outdistanced those from any other newspaper.

The author of this intimate biography of a great newspaper is Meyer Berger, a newspaperman for the last forty-two years, a *Times* reporter since 1928, one of the twenty-two Pulitzer Prize winners on its staff, and one of the finest craftsmen in the history of journalism. This is one of the best feature stories that has ever appeared under his by-line. It is popular history in the best sense, unburdened by distracting documentation, and written with accuracy and clarity. It is a thoroughly competent job in the best *Times* tradition.

Berger devotes a large part of his attention to the three publishers who made *The Times*: Henry J. Raymond, the aggressive crusader who founded the paper as a conservative organ devoid of sensationalism; Adolph Ochs, who rescued it from financial collapse and gradually built it into an institution of world-wide prestige; and Arthur Hays Sulzberger, the current publisher who lifted the paper to new heights of renown. The author gives an unforgettable picture of the paper's greatest managing editor, Carr Vattel van Anda, whose exploits included catching Albert Einstein in a mathematical mistake, discovering a 4,000-year-old murder from the hieroglyphics on a news picture of Tutankamen's tomb, and climbing on a delivery wagon at dawn to make certain that an extra edition of *The Times* got on its way to its readers.

Berger's book is filled with the stuff of great journalism—the inside stories of *Times* beats, the paper's encouragement of exploration and discovery, the publication of the texts of important historical memoirs and significant documents, and hundreds of other fascinating memorabilia. The swift pace of the story covers most of the social history of the last century. As a proponent of the eyewitness technique, the author always shows the story through the eyes of the reporter.

This book is a mine of information for the *Times* enthusiast and a find for any newspaper reader. Simon and Schuster are to be congratulated on the publication

of a volume handsome in both typography and production.

LOUIS L. SNYDER

The City College of New York

ECONOMICS AND INDUSTRY

NOURSE, EDWIN G. *The 1950's Come First*. Pp. 184. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951. \$2.00.

A captious reviewer could point to "inconsistencies" in this book, or to lack of clarity as to whether the author is for or against some important programs which he mentions. But such criticism would tend to be unfair. The author is pragmatic, not dogmatic; and he is stating and illustrating a philosophy rather than making a tabulation.

That philosophy will disappoint those uninformed persons who may have regarded Dr. Nourse as a "reactionary" or even "conservative" economist or political scientist. He is modern and forward looking. He asserts that our economic fate is determined not by impersonal forces but largely by wise or foolish human action; that reasonable economic stability is not only attainable but also preferable to the recurrent depressions which were supposed to "purge" the economy of its weaknesses; that we cannot go back to a simpler or "free market" economy by fragmentizing big private economic organizations or big government; and that competition and co-operation are both useful and dynamic concepts.

He then states the core problem as follows: (a) to achieve the fairly stable progress which technology makes possible (in the United States), the enjoyment of available resources must be so apportioned that production and consumption are kept in workable balance; (b) the greatest threat to this balance arises when powerful economic groups seek to obtain for their own use an excessive share of our total resources; and (c) the problem is compounded when these powerful economic groups seek this excessive share, not only through action on the economic front within the area of

private enterprise, but also through action on the political front designed to pressure big government into helping them get more.

This thesis seems sound to this reviewer. There has developed in some quarters an overoptimistic belief in the capacity of government to redress economic deficiencies. Placing more emphasis upon making the general private economy itself function more smoothly would help to avoid such concentration of public power as might be inconsistent with the maintenance of dynamic initiative and of the great personal freedoms.

The incompleteness of Dr. Nourse's book, granted the soundness of its thesis and the excellence of its purpose, seems to me three-fold:

(1) It seems overly pessimistic. It leaves the general impression that trends over the past two decades in big business, big labor, big agriculture, and big government have reflected a disheartening deterioration in matters economic and moral, and that retribution will be certain even if it has not been swift. An equally strong argument might be advanced that, admitting excesses and mistakes, the American economy has become more stable, more just and even more conducive to true initiative than it was two decades ago. The book might be more persuasive if it listed gains as well as losses.

(2) Severe criticism of powerful economic groups is less likely to improve their ways than the assumption that their motivation is good, coupled with concrete proposals about what they should do next. Mere exhortation not to seek too large a share is inadequate, without economic analysis of some measuring rods or patterns for sharing the total output which may be consistent with a well-functioning economy. There is need also for "institutional" exploration of how this process may operate in our kind of economy, with the big economic groups participating and contributing instead of being "told" by some professor or bureaucrat. No one has yet solved this problem; but Dr. Nourse slips into near ridicule of those who suggest possible techniques.

(3) The book applauds the reelection of an outstanding Republican senator, censures the political campaign of a Democratic ex-Undersecretary, and makes some slighting personal references to the President. This gives a flavor of partisanship, although I am sure Dr. Nourse could defend the proposition that he reached these conclusions by a "non-political" process. This reviewer appreciates that the author's most recent government work undoubtedly disclosed some things he found distasteful; that is a common experience of those in public service. Yet many may share my hope that Dr. Nourse's next book, in addition to addressing itself to points (1) and (2) above, will return to the more complete detachment and objectivity which helped to make some of his earlier works—such as his studies on productive and consumption capacity, and of the price system—among the finest contributions to the literature of American economic thought.

LEON H. KEYSERLING

Council of Economic Advisers
Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH. *Studies in Income and Wealth*. Vol. XIII, Conference on Research on Income and Wealth. Pp. xiv, 587. New York, 1951. \$6.00.

The analysis of income distribution is one of the major ways to find out "who gets what when" in any society. It therefore lies at the heart not only of economics but also of political science and other branches of social science.

One of the most interesting things about people who get the largest share of man's worldly goods is that the more they get the more they want. Statisticians and economists, it seems, are also human beings. This volume demonstrates not only that *Homo Americanus* has more figures on who has what than any other tribe in history, but also that American income distribution experts—far from being satisfied—are eagerly striving to obtain still more and still better data.

With six learned papers by eight outstanding specialists and stimulating com-

ments by eight discussion leaders, this volume provides a truly remarkable picture of the progress that has been made and the improvements under way in the collection and initial handling of data on this subject. It should serve as an invaluable reference volume for economists, a guide to statisticians, and a source of elementary education for political scientists who have generally failed to give sufficient attention to work in this area.

Two of the commentators deserve special quotation. "It is time we gave less attention," writes Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago, "to uniformity, to measuring what we neither understand nor can agree on defining, and more to specific problems, to understanding the facts of income determination, and to the development of theories and hypotheses that would put these facts into a meaningful relation one with another" (p. 56).

"Despite any and all complaints that data are deficient," writes Harold Barger of the National Bureau of Economic Research, "it is obvious that facts about the distribution of income among recipients are piling up and are being compared and summarized at a staggering rate. The contrast in this respect with the poverty of information twenty, not to say ten, years ago is striking indeed. Yet it does not appear that the study of the theoretical distributions, which must underlie the observed data, has made any comparable advance" (p. 260).

One of the first steps toward the improved utilization of income distribution data has already been taken in the Economic Reviews of the Council of Economic Advisers, which appear every six months as supplements of the President's Economic Reports to Congress. Since January 1949, the Council has been including in these Reviews studies on income distribution which pull together the available data and draw broad conclusions concerning shifts and trends.

But to achieve more fully the objectives sought by Friedman and Barger, two additional steps must be taken—steps which are more appropriate to private research organizations. The first is the

analysis of how and why changes in income have really taken place. This involves an adventure into social dynamics—into such questions as how incomes have been affected during the last twenty years by the activities of organized labor, of the "farm bloc," of social welfare programs, and of "progressive" tax legislation. The second is the development of standards in terms both of "equity" and of implications for consumption and investment. This, of course, leads into broad questions of social behavior and moral values.

If the market for income distribution data is more fully exploited by studies along these lines, the work of the Conference on Income and Wealth in designing and producing the data is bound to grow in significance during the coming years.

BERTRAM M. GROSS

Executive Office of the President
Washington, D. C.

HART, ALBERT G., and E. CARY BROWN, assisted by H. F. RASMUSSEN. *Financing Defense: Federal Tax and Expenditure Policies*. Pp. xiv, 161. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1951. \$2.00.

This is an excellent analysis of the problems arising in federal finance under the conditions of a garrison state. The study outlines the estimated budget requirements of the "readiness economy" which the nation must maintain over a long period, if necessary, if it is to be prepared for the emergency of another world war. The fervor of patriotism, which flames high during total war, cannot be counted on during this period as the primary urge for popular co-operation in the programs of economic and financial mobilization. If inflation is to be controlled, heavy reliance must be placed upon fiscal controls.

The authors criticize wasteful federal expenditures for defense as well as for non-defense services. But they believe that economy efforts will not suffice to keep the budget from soaring upward and to head off the need for greatly increased taxes. Judiciously employed subsidies to

producers may have a limited usefulness in increasing the supply of needed materials and in keeping prices down. They run the risk of political abuse, however, and require additional taxes to meet their costs.

The tax system should be placed in readiness to meet spiraling governmental costs and keep the budget in balance. The main pillar in the tax structure must be the personal income tax. It reaches the great mass of consumers directly, is paid currently, in general, and is reasonably equitable. But it is more likely to be paid with funds that would have been saved than is a sales tax, and in raising a given amount of revenue is likely to be less restrictive of inflation. The pros and cons of different types of general consumption taxes are discussed.

The authors urge heavier profits taxes with the objective of keeping profits after taxes generally at the 1948 level. An excess profits tax is found to be highly complicated and exerting some inflationary pressures but a necessary supplement, politically at least, to wage and other controls. The tax system must have sufficient flexibility to meet the changing requirements of defense financing.

The little volume is clearly written and is balanced in its appraisal of economic and financial problems growing out of the current critical world situation. Limitations of data and analysis are freely admitted. The reader may disagree with the analysis of budget and tax questions at particular points and wish for a more adequate discussion. This is probably inevitable in such a brief study. But the volume will be found to be ably written, stimulating, and constructive by those who are concerned about the dangers of inflation and seek to minimize them.

ALFRED G. BUEHLER

University of Pennsylvania

HAMBERG, D. *Business Cycles*. Pp. xviii, 621. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. \$5.00.

Cast in the highly technical language of the economic specialist, this is not a book for the general public, though the exhaustive discussion of the application

of business cycle theories in the later chapters is more readable. The author expresses a pious wish that he may write a book rigorous in its analysis of the main theories of business cycles but not so rigorous as to overshoot the intelligence of the undergraduate upperclassman. If the average college senior could come out of this series of lectures with a "C" grade, he would deserve high commendation. The average citizen would most certainly flunk.

But the author must deal perforce with existing theories. He must use their terminology. This he has done with great zeal and keen insight. His analysis is of especial value to the student of business trends. A triple reading of the definitions in Chapter two is recommended.

To speak of business cycles is in itself confusing. We may speak of cycles in weather, in sunspots, in the tides of the sea—all processes in nature—but to describe the vagaries and fluctuations of human attitudes and activity as a cycle is a misnomer. The one constant in the problem is human self-interest: the multitude of other factors are variables, elusive to a high degree—all of which Professor Hamberg fairly recognizes.

His book is of special value in its assembly of the five principal theories of the business cycle. Each is exhaustively taken apart and its weaknesses pointed out. Without presuming in any way to be hypercritical or iconoclastic the author has nevertheless taken these famous writers to task and bumped their heads together with a resulting sound of emptiness. Then follows a chapter on the eclectic theory—a chapter of synthesis—in which values from all approaches to the problem are assembled and cast into a rational answer to the riddle of business change.

The student of this branch of economics will appreciate the author's historical analysis of business cycles in the United States during the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's. Those who struggled through those troubled decades with two major and five minor depressions and a period of wars and the economic wreckage of wars will derive a greatly clarified view of that vast experience. This book is a major work.

The reader who will keep his lexicon handy may profit well by careful reading.

ROBERT W. KELSO

Pleasant Ridge, Michigan

COPELAND, MELVIN T. *The Executive at Work*. Pp. 278. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951. \$3.75.

This book by the Director of Research and George Baker Professor of Administration, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, is neither a work of science nor of scholarship; nor is it intended to be. It is addressed primarily to those who have little understanding or perhaps false notions as to what executives have to do and what kind of problems they have to meet. There is little or no definition of terms and no attempt at developing conceptual schemes relating to the subject. The author wishes to speak out of his personal experience and observation rather than to cite the considerable volume of literature on the subject of organization and administration. He succeeds admirably in his purpose. The style is highly personal, chatty, and anecdotal.

The book should be of interest not only to those having no experience or knowledge of the work of executives, but also to those in the lower and intermediate levels of the larger organizations who often wonder what the men in the top offices do and who frequently have quite erroneous views about the matter.

As presenting a good deal of case material in the abbreviated form of anecdotes, the book should also interest experienced executives who have difficulty in selecting illustrative material from their own experiences. This difficulty in part explains the fact, noted by Professor Copeland, that most autobiographical material by those whose chief claim to eminence is their organizing and administrative capacity fails to say anything of importance about this aspect of their work and experience.

One might expect in a book of this kind a great many unwarranted oversimplifications and platitudinous generalizations that are mere expressions of personal opinion. Professor Copeland did not

entirely escape this danger. Here is an example (p. 47): "Integrity, honesty, and sincerity are qualities in which a man must rate 100% or zero. Unless a man can be rated 100%, it is futile to dream of educating him to raise his standards after appointment." To the reviewer this is sheer nonsense.

As stated, Professor Copeland ignores the considerable literature that is available. This, no doubt, makes the book easier reading for those to whom it is primarily directed, but it also limits the usefulness of the book for others. It also makes rather conspicuous a notable exception in that the author cites many times the research studies of the Harvard Business School. To the reviewer this treatment seems to give a lack of balance to the book and the impression that it is a bit of propaganda for Harvard Business School and its research department.

The personal tone maintained throughout the book comes close to the limit toward the end when the author discusses in detail his plans and attitudes with respect to retirement.

CHESTER I. BARNARD

The Rockefeller Foundation
New York City

MOORE, WILBERT E. *Industrialization and Labor: Social Aspects of Economic Development*. Pp. xx, 410. Ithaca: Cornell University Press (for The Institute of World Affairs, New School for Social Research), 1951. \$5.00.

The general intent of this scholarly and carefully written book is indicated in the author's preface: "Its focus is not primarily on the historical experience in the industrial West, but on the more recent and contemporary experience in areas commonly called 'undeveloped.' The theoretical justification of this focus is precisely that of the significance of varying social institutions and life patterns for economic development, and the practical justification is that it is precisely in such areas that industrialization is being proposed as a solution to the problems of poverty." It is in a sense a co-operative enterprise, and the author gives credit to

several foundations and research organizations that assisted him in his work.

It is difficult to summarize the many conclusions emerging from the book, most of them stated cautiously and tentatively. Among the factors tending to promote the shift to industries in industrially backward regions, the author mentions the following: poverty, arising from overpopulation; debt and modes of inheritance; deterioration of the land; loss of markets for craft skills and products; escape from social pressures of various kinds at home (for example, Chinese women going to the factories to escape the domination of their mothers-in-law); deliberate restriction of agricultural employment; direct coercion of workers through taxes (to force them to earn money), indenture labor recruitment by native chiefs and headmen who have sometimes robbed the workers scandalously; and, in a few instances, patriotism.

Among the many factors hostile to the shift of labor to industry, the following are discussed: hostility to change; unawareness of other patterns of life; loss of security, economic and social, and of family and village connections; loss of freedom as producers; love of the land; loss of status; lack of goods available for purchase with wages earned; opposition to authority and discipline in the factory, and to the time-discipline; the punctuality and steadiness of industrial jobs; and in some cases hostility to foreign control of factories, race discrimination, and lack of any chance of promotion.

The problem of morale and efficiency of workers is discussed with perspicacity. The cycle of poverty and inefficiency is analyzed carefully—"the cycle of poverty, lack of physical vigor, frustration, low productivity, low wages, and further poverty." Absenteeism and rapid turnover are noted as serious evils; the waste involved in race discrimination is clearly indicated, and the notion of race superiority is blasted properly.

Part II of the book gives us a detailed discussion of the history and status of industrialization and labor in Mexico.

To the question whether industrialization promises a remedy for the poverty of

industrially backward and overpopulated countries Professor Moore offers no simple answer; but his book should be required reading for all who are optimistic about this.

JOHN ISE

University of Kansas

FRANCE, ROBERT R. and RICHARD A. LESTER. *Compulsory Arbitration of Utility Disputes in New Jersey and Pennsylvania*. Pp. 90. Princeton: Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University, 1951. \$2.00.

It should not be inferred that the decision of the United States Supreme Court of February 26, 1951, holding the Wisconsin Compulsory Arbitration Statute unconstitutional makes studies like this one academic. Not only is there doubt that the Court's decree is equally applicable to all compulsory arbitration laws, but the decision itself rests on a doctrine of conflict with Federal law—a conflict easily removed by Congressional action.

Of the seven states with this sort of legislation, these two were selected for study probably because of convenience, although New Jersey possibly has accumulated more experience in the administration of a compulsory arbitration statute than any other state. The inclusion of Pennsylvania adds little to the study because the Pennsylvania experience has been very limited. The Pennsylvania act has been invoked only 7 times, with the procedure carried as far as an arbitration award in only 3 cases.

The limited use of the Pennsylvania law is not explained by its newness since it has been in operation for virtually the same period of time as the New Jersey statute. The authors speculate that the greater maturity of collective bargaining in Pennsylvania utilities and the undesirable restrictions imposed by the Pennsylvania act on the selection of arbitrators and on the standards they must employ in reaching their decisions are responsible for the meager experience.

The most surprising conclusion advanced is that "the results in both states would seem to indicate that bargaining relationships which were functioning successfully before the enactment of the laws were not

disrupted greatly by the statutes" (p. 87). This conclusion is at variance with the results of earlier studies of the New Jersey legislation made by Professor Thomas Kennedy and Professor Lois MacDonald, both of whom found collective bargaining was impaired (Kennedy, *The Handling of Emergency Disputes*, Industrial Relations Research Association, Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1949, p. 14. MacDonald, *Compulsory Arbitration in New Jersey*, Graduate Division of Public Service, New York University, 1949).

It is not possible in this brief review carefully to evaluate the evidence on which this very important finding rests. It can be noted that the authors tested the opinions of members of the arbitration boards and of management and union representatives in the utility industries. They also reviewed the experience of each industry and examined the trend of statistics with regard to the percentage of negotiations in which the procedures of the legislation were invoked. Their conclusion is entitled to respect.

Other significant findings are that both states have avoided prolonged stoppages—with one exception—since the laws were adopted; that the procedures of the New Jersey law are more conducive than those of Pennsylvania to workable solutions to labor disputes; and that the entire process of compulsory arbitration is endangered by judicial review of arbitration awards.

The study is a significant contribution to the growing literature on the problem of the emergency strike.

JOHN PERRY HORLACHER

University of Pennsylvania

GINZBERG, ELI, SOL W. GINSBURG, SIDNEY AXELRAD, and JOHN L. HERMAN. *Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory*. Pp. ix, 271. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. \$3.75.

This little book impresses the reviewer as one of the most significant contributions yet made to the literature of vocational guidance. The study it summarizes was financed by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences.

On what basis are occupational choices now made? What are the personal and social factors conditioning such choices? Is there a commitment pattern in the psychological process of selecting a vocation or is it a matter of fortuity and chance? Does the pattern change predictably with the maturation of the child through adolescence to young adulthood? How far do the techniques in our present counseling system insure an adequate and intelligent use of our potential manpower resources? What can be done to make our vocational guidance system more effective? These and derivative questions which have long plagued the minds of high school and college counselors are tentatively answered. The answers come out of "several years" of systematic interviewing of children and adolescents from the sixth, eighth, tenth, and twelfth grades, mainly of the Horace Mann School, and of typical undergraduate and graduates in Columbia University and its associated colleges.

The authors stress the point that occupational choice is not an act of simple decision but rather a developmental process—a kind of progressive commitment, irreversible, with compromise always an essential aspect. Normally the child passes through a "fantasy" stage of occupational interest, the adolescent through a "tentative" period, characterized by considerations of interest, capacity, and values. The latter gives place to the maturer "realistic" stage marked by exploration, crystallization, and specification of choice. Deviations from these norms due to economic background, class, sex, emotional and other psychological factors, and parental and social orientation are analyzed and abundantly illustrated by case histories.

In a penetrating chapter on "The Conservation of Human Resources" the authors deal with the problem of how to develop "appropriate methods—in addition to financial support—to help those with capacity and talent in the lower income groups to pursue additional education and training." They stop far short, however, of advocating a general prolongation of education. They insist that the latter is

not necessarily desirable from the standpoint of occupational choice and adjustment. Its value lies rather in "the opportunity for leisurely deliberation concerning an occupational choice and for avoiding premature commitments."

The treatment is lucid, stimulating, and readable throughout. In method of presentation it is direct, objective, and cogent as a syllogism. It contains no discernible element of the pedantic or doctrinaire. Pet theories are conspicuously absent.

With this study as a background a similarly balanced study evaluating the present methods and techniques of vocational counselors would be of inestimable value.

CHARLES W. COULTER

University of New Hampshire

PIFFNER, JOHN M. *The Supervision of Personnel: Human Relations in the Management of Men.* Pp. viii, 454. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1951. \$6.00.

This volume is a successful effort to produce both a text for the teaching of the human relations aspects of management and a useful handbook for supervisors interested in a plain-talk presentation of the findings of human relations research during two decades. The author sets his material within the framework of several controlling premises: that the democratic way of life is desirable and feasible in management; that man is a social animal, influenced by belief-systems in his work habits; that communication, participation, and constructive conflict as well as co-operation and consultation provide the main pattern for supervisory leadership; that adjustment to living and working in large-scale organizations is still a new and difficult problem for most of us, an adjustment with which we have had only a few decades of experience.

The volume is divided into six main parts: the supervisor and human nature; the human relations aspects of organization and management; the social aspects of supervision; motivation; clinical approaches to troubled people; and selection and training of supervisors. These central issues are dealt with mainly at the level of the work unit composed of the supervisor

and his rank-and-file subordinates; the larger world of the total organization and its surrounding social environment is seen only incidentally and by implication. The exposition thus profits from intensive analysis of the first-line supervisor and his group, but tends to isolate his intimate world artificially from the powerful influences of the universe of administration in which the work unit lives. In this respect the author faithfully reflects the virtues and the weaknesses of the human relations research upon which his text depends.

The supervision of personnel is seen as having a generic pattern: "people follow a rather uniform pattern of behavior in working relationships." As a consequence, the analysis assumes a common pattern of supervisory problems and maxims in both public and business administration. For political scientists and others interested in the distinctive features of supervision in public agencies, the omission of any emphasis upon the political environment of the supervisor will have special significance. But every reader interested in supervision as a problem in human relations will find this a workmanlike addition to his shelf of useful books.

WALLACE S. SAYRE

The City College of New York

ZALEZNIK, A. *Foreman Training in a Growing Enterprise*. Pp. xv, 232. Boston: Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, Division of Research, 1951. \$3.50.

As is clearly stated in the foreword by Professor Fritz Roethlisberger, the foreman in a business offers the most fruitful focus for the study of the administrative process in general. The foreman is literally "the man in the middle." He stands between management and employees. He operates in the middle of the abstract and the concrete; in the middle of theory and practice; in the middle of good intentions and practical achievement; in the middle of verbal and nonverbal worlds, and in the middle of a changing technology and time-honored customs. It is he who is expected to bring about an hourly and continuing miracle of integration. In consequence,

the author has centered his study on the foreman, with particular reference to his training and the appropriateness of this training to his needs. Dr. Zaleznik is principally concerned with the question: what kind of help do supervisors need from training for more effective action on the job?

To find an answer to this question, the author selected a single, young, and rapidly growing enterprise for study (the book is his doctoral thesis) on the assumption that its management would be more receptive to observation of its practices than would an older and more rigid organization. His research consisted in: (1) the observation of the supervisory training meetings held by the company; (2) the conduct of a series of individual interviews with supervisors to ascertain their problems and their reactions to the training programs; and (3) the observation for five weeks of a single foreman, Tony, at work under the particularly difficult circumstances of starting an assembly line in a new plant. On the basis of these observations, the author draws a number of conclusions relative to the relevancy of the training offered in this particular company, the needs and problems of first line supervision, and the approach and content of the training which will provide the most help to supervision.

His conclusions concerning the relevancy and value of the company's supervisory training program are not only significant but have long needed expression. He points out that the establishment of the program was not the outgrowth of some critical or sharply defined problem. Instead, management merely had a vague "feeling" that supervisory training was needed. It is probable, the author suspects, that this was stimulated to some extent by the fact that as a result of the Training Within Industry programs, such work with supervisors had become something of a "fad." The man selected to do the training, while experienced in the company, was chosen primarily because he had an advanced degree in psychology and had taught in the public schools. In turn, his choice of subject matter was equally fortuitous. He had studied psychology;

it seemed logical that a knowledge of psychology would be helpful to the supervisors, so that is what they got, with particular emphasis on developing a background knowledge of psychological principles, the formation of desirable "attitudes" in the supervisors, the teaching of rules of supervision, and the instilling of confidence in them. The melancholy outcome was the expenditure of much time and effort with few or no practical results. The content and conduct of the training sessions, as reported, would be ludicrous were they not so tragic in their futility—and their representativeness of what is being done in industry generally.

The author's conclusions resulting from his interviews with the foremen are less significant. He finds that their attitudes toward the training are colored by the state of their morale. Furthermore, he discovered that where poor morale (negative attitudes) exists, management tends to be too preoccupied with other and more pressing problems to be too much concerned about it.

A major part of the book is devoted to a detailed exposition of the problems and reactions of Tony, the foreman, in getting his assembly line started, in meeting production goals, in dealing with various staff specialists, and in handling his people. Tony has trouble, almost from the start, and it grows progressively worse. As a result, he becomes increasingly disorganized in his activities, unrealistic in his thinking, and wracked by anxiety. In short, the pressures of his responsibilities and his failures adequately to meet them induce an almost complete state of panic in Tony. His problems mount in geometric progression during the course of the study, so that at the end of the five weeks of observation he is about ready either to break down or to have management replace him. The picture of the disintegration of a supervisor on his job which is provided is a poignant and realistic one—and one which is played out in many plants every day.

The most unfortunate feature of the study—and a critical source of weakness in the book—is the fact that the author has apparently had no training in clinical

psychology. The true significance of Tony's disintegration under the cumulative stress of the job has apparently escaped the author completely. He provides a detailed clinical account of Tony's descent into a state of panic without any awareness of the sources and basic nature of his difficulties. With surprising naïveté, he diagnoses Tony's behavior simply as a failure to grow and develop in spite of the fact that in his daily job activities (1) "he did not observe events about him, (2) he did not attend to specific problems, (3) he did not relate himself effectively to people, and (4) he behaved in a frantic manner and was generally apprehensive." Briefly the author does not clearly recognize that Tony's problem is not one that training of any kind can help. Tony's difficulties stem from the fact that he is essentially a weak, dependent (probably not too intelligent) individual who has never learned to think realistically or relate himself practically to his problems. Simply stated, he is not supervisory material and should never have been promoted beyond group leader. Having been made foreman, he begins to regress and become increasingly immature and unrealistic in his responses as he is subjected to greater and greater stresses. The solution, as much for Tony's good as for management's, would be to take him off supervision at the foreman level as soon as his incapacity becomes evident and before he breaks down completely.

By way of conclusion, the author stresses the desirability of focusing training on the supervisors' needs, of diagnosing their problems and understanding their feelings and attitudes, and of addressing training meetings more specifically toward the supervisors' problems, attitudes, and beliefs. He feels that the end goal of such training should be to help all types and levels of line and staff employees to diagnose situations effectively, to act effectively, and to become self-aware. These are undeniably laudable objectives for training; the extent to which they can actually be accomplished by most industrial training departments is open to considerable question. In this respect he follows most professional industrial trainers

in substituting a proneness to wishful thinking for a tough-minded appraisal of the limitations of training. Taken as a whole, the book contributes little that is new or original with respect either to methodology or conclusions. It does present one case study in faithful detail which provides the uninitiated with a valid picture of what frequently happens in industry. The interpretations, on the other hand, as already indicated, tend to be rather naïve. The author's recommendations, while undeniably admirable, are probably much more difficult of attainment than he fully recognizes. In short, the study represents a typical research project at the graduate level, but hardly one which makes a major and lasting contribution to human knowledge.

ROBERT N. McMURRY

Chicago, Illinois

COOK, FRANKLIN H. *Principles of Business and the Federal Law*. Pp. xxi, 563. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. \$5.50.

This is a combination text and case book purporting to deal with important "legal and economic principles that affect business in its relation with government." Actually, it is a book on constitutional law. The emphasis throughout is on the application of constitutional clauses—impairment, equal protection, privileges and immunities, due process, and commerce—to business and labor practices. There is little economics in it.

In Book I, entitled "Constitutional Law," the material is arranged according to the constitutional framework rather than by subject matter. For example: taxation is treated in five chapters of Book I; labor in four chapters of Book I and in Part V of Book II, consisting of four chapters; monopoly and competition in five chapters of Book I and in four chapters of Book II. Book II, entitled "Federal Statutes," is divided into four parts—"Restraints upon Business," "Labor Legislation," "Security Regulation," and "Regulation of Transportation."

This method results in considerable scattering of subject matter, repetition, and

functional disunity. Whatever its pedagogical value for the elucidation of constitutional principles to prospective lawyers, it is confusing and somewhat frustrating to the lay student who is more concerned with the social philosophy and the consequences of constitutional interpretation than with underlying legal principles. If, for example, one wants to ascertain the constitutional metes and bounds of federal antitrust policy, one does not relish the prospect of searching through nine chapters to find the answer.

The material, except for statutory citations in Book II, consists almost entirely of excerpts from Supreme Court cases. This is far from satisfying to the social scientist. He misses reference to the criticism appearing in learned journals of law, politics, and economics; to notable works on constitutional law; to the contributions of state courts and administrative commissions; to the interplay of social forces which has influenced judicial decisions. These deficiencies are partially offset by textual explanations, but these are generally brief and legalistic.

The Constitution is regarded as a bulwark of individual and property rights vis-a-vis the State. The rationale of the Court is "precedent and its own sense of reasonableness" (p. 5) and its "idea of what is right and what is wrong" (p. 111), which the author equates with "natural" or "higher" law. The necessity for public restraint of private economic power and for flexibility of interpretation is conceded but only within the permissive limits of traditional legal theory. It is a useful case and reference book, but scarcely an adequate guide for social policy.

HORACE M. GRAY

University of Illinois

CLOUGH, SHEPARD B. *The Rise and Fall of Civilization: An Inquiry into the Relationship Between Economic Development and Civilization*. Pp. xiii, 291. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951. \$4.50.

While it is not written in a bellicose or controversial tone, it may be fairly asserted that this stimulating essay was in-

spired by a desire to combat the conception of the rise and fall of civilizations promulgated by Arnold J. Toynbee in his *A Study of History* and, to a lesser extent, the views of Oswald Spengler on the same topic, as expressed in his *The Decline of the West*.

Toynbee presented an essential spiritual interpretation of history. For example, he held that the rôle of each great civilization has been to fulfill destiny assigned to it by God. Spiritual creativity is the chief dynamic factor in history. Civilizations are rehabilitated by the spiritual etherialization of leaders as they retire into the wilderness to hold communion with God. The chief hope of saving Western civilization today is to be found in a more complete appreciation and utilization of the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, the only authentic savior.

Professor Clough's book provides a far more realistic approach to the problems of the nature, rise, flowering, and decline of civilizations. He regards economic factors as more potent than spiritual items in creating and supporting human civilization. But economic aspects of life, however essential, are not the highest manifestations of human civilization. According to Professor Clough, civilization is measured by the extent to which "a people produces aesthetic and intellectual works of high merit and provides physical and social security for its members. . . . Of great importance also is the prevention of such a rigid structuring of the culture that the individual has no choice of action."

The production of conditions favorable to a high state of civilization depends, more than anything else, upon the provision of a substantial economic surplus. But this will not, in itself alone, invariably create a rich culture. The controlling ideology is also of great importance. To attain a high type of civilization, and with reasonable rapidity, requires an ideology that, making use of the economic surplus essential for stability and prosperity, "embraces the idea that great works of art should be created, that knowledge of the universe should be acquired, and that man should extend his control over the human and physical environment."

Building his theory of the rise and fall of civilization upon economic progress and the creation of an economic surplus, Professor Clough sets down the following factors which he regards as exerting a controlling influence over economic progress: (1) natural resources; (2) technology and techniques of production; (3) labor; (4) capital; (5) business leadership and economic institutions; and (6) demand for goods and techniques of distribution. He applies these criteria in the bulk of his book, in the course of which he examines the rise of the earliest cultures, the cultures of the Bronze Age, notably Egypt and Mesopotamia, ancient Greece, Rome, and Western civilization. He holds that "Western culture now has the highest civilization of any culture in the world." Leadership in this is now passing from Western Europe to the United States and Canada. The greatest threat to the dominion and permanence of Western leadership in civilization is to be found "in the threat of war, as well as actual war."

Space does not permit any detailed commentary on Professor Clough's survey of the history of civilization, but it may be said categorically that it is an unusually thoughtful and stimulating work. In the opinion of the reviewer, it is more instructive and fruitful than a library full of such books as those by Toynbee and Sorokin, with their single-track mysticism, or even of books like Brooks Adams' *The Law of Civilization and Decay*, which overworks an equally unilateral materialistic interpretation of history. Professor Clough's broad approach and his theory of multiple causation are more in accord with the facts and more entitled to respect.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Cooperstown, New York

SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION

GREEN, ARNOLD W. *Henry Charles Carey: Nineteenth-Century Sociologist*. Pp. viii, 218. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951. \$4.00.

Whether or not Henry C. Carey (1793-1879) was or was not "a sociologist" is a

question that could be debated endlessly; indeed Mr. Green does not unequivocally claim that designation for Carey in the present volume.

At any rate, Carey published successfully, in 1858 and 1860, the three volumes of his *Principles of Social Science*, which thus became one of the earliest works to bear any such title, in any language. To be sure, Vico's *La Scienza Nuova* appeared in 1725, over one hundred years earlier, and there had been a few other works during the interim that can be argued to have something of the character and pretensions of general social science. But for all that, Carey was among the pioneers in this field of endeavor. Though his "social science" was a mixture of economics and miscellaneous items of special pleading for reforms in which he was interested, especially protective tariff, and though, as Green frankly shows, there is ground for believing that his views were not altogether uninfluenced by personal pecuniary interest in the Pennsylvania coal and iron industry, he deserves some credit for his effort to demonstrate that there could be a general "social science."

It will, therefore, be of value to those interested in the history of social science to have this competent and compact account of Carey's life, with an analysis of his work, available. Apart from some difficulty in ascertaining, on a rapid reading at Green's first chapter which is primarily biographical, which passages refer to him and which ones to his only slightly less distinguished father, Mathew Carey, I find nothing to criticize in this book.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

VOLKART, EDMUND H. (Ed.) *Social Behavior and Personality: Contributions of W. I. Thomas to Theory and Social Research*. Pp. ix, 338. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951. \$3.00.

This collection of excerpts from the writing of W. I. Thomas is a timely and most welcome contribution. Dr. Volkart has made a judicious selection of key

passages from books and articles written by Thomas (most of which are out of print and hard to come by) and has shaped them into an integrated whole. Unfortunately, Thomas never wrote a systematic statement of his thoughts. During his entire life he was engaged in the pursuit of fresh knowledge, and the fertile ideas he had he used as guides rather than as subjects of contemplation. Besides, Thomas' ideas were always evolving and changing, and he was reluctant to formalize them. Some of his basic concepts, for example, that of "situation," have never been adequately defined. Dr. Volkart is fully aware of this dynamic character of Thomas' work and has succeeded admirably in organizing the passages he has selected in a manner that conveys a sense of the development and growth of Thomas' thinking about social phenomena. The fact that there was no element of finality in Thomas' thought makes his contributions especially valuable as a living heritage to be elaborated and deepened by future generations of social scientists.

This volume clearly shows that Thomas' contribution to the social sciences has been a major one. In his excellent introduction which summarizes this contribution Dr. Volkart rightly concludes that "in retrospect, Thomas looms as more than a historical figure of importance. Directly and indirectly he has influenced the course of social science development, and his basic conceptions can be discerned in much of contemporary theory and research. If today it is difficult to appreciate his originality and authority, it is because so much of his work has been accepted in the body of social science" (p. 31).

Among these conceptions are the postulate of the situational approach which asserts that behavior is adjustment to existing relationships and that change in them (crisis) is the dynamic element in social development and the postulate of the "definition of the situation" which assumes that subjective factors—the attitudes and valuations of individuals and groups—are an integral part of behavior analysis. Thomas also offers methodological directives concerning the priority

of case studies over statistical investigations; the use of life history material; the employment of control groups; and, above all, the avoidance of limitation of the physical sciences and the recognition of the distinctive qualities of human behavior.

Dr. Volkart has gathered together seventeen selections, slightly abridged to avoid repetition, from Thomas' books and articles. The inclusion of a hitherto unpublished report submitted to the Social Science Research Council which outlines a program for the study of personality and culture and contains the most mature expression of Thomas' position is particularly welcome. Each selection is preceded by an introduction by the editor which places the selection in historical perspective and relates it to the other materials presented in the volume. The selections are divided into four parts which deal respectively with the nature of social science, with personal dynamics, with cultural dynamics, and with personality and culture. A good bibliography has been compiled by A. Paul Hare, and Donald Young has written a foreword.

A slight flaw in an otherwise excellent volume is the absence of any discussion of the nature of the collaboration between Thomas and Znaniecki and of the possible influence which the latter may have exercised on the shaping of Thomas' approach to the study of social phenomena. For example, the "Methodological Note to the Polish Peasant" is regarded by Volkart simply as a continuation and elaboration of ideas previously set forth by Thomas. Consultation of Znaniecki's "Cultural Reality" which was published at the time he was collaborating with Thomas would have undoubtedly modified this view. Znaniecki is an original thinker in his own right, and he subsequently developed a system of ideas which to some extent diverged in interest and emphasis from the course pursued by Thomas. However, they are fundamentally alike in their approach and both contributed to its elaboration in equal measure during the fortunate period of their collaboration.

THEODORE ABEL

Hunter College

EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. *Social Anthropology*. Pp. vii, 134. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951. \$2.50.

These six lectures, given on B.B.C.'s famed Third Programme in the winter of 1950, are designated to explain social anthropology to a lay audience. It is hard to believe that the attempt was other than successful. Professor Evans-Pritchard's style is clear and straightforward if a trifle humorless, and his grasp of his subject matter is firm and large, gentled by a candor and a humility that are as rare as they are commendable. There is no hesitation about the theoretical confusions that clutter anthropology in its present state of development just as there is unapologetic pride in the increasing accuracy of ethnographic methods and general field work techniques. The concluding chapter on applied anthropology is an especially neat blend of caution with a rather impressive statement of anthropology's credentials to contribute to such practical affairs as colonial government. (If the chapter deals with little else in the way of applications, it should be forgiven for its excellence as well as its British origin and audience.)

But Evans-Pritchard, like any good professional, has a rather definite point of view toward his work, and that point of view, while it may be rejoiced in by some, is anathema to many. Denying that social anthropology either is or can be a science, Evans-Pritchard (a) classifies his discipline with the humanities, believing its ties to history the most intimate among its intellectual relations, (b) feels that a close linkage between psychology and anthropology is impossible since they study different kinds of phenomena, and (c) refuses to admit the discovery to date of any cultural laws.

Without challenging his assertions about the utility of history in anthropological research and theorizing, it seems hard to understand how Evans-Pritchard can overlook the kind of history that is most germane to understand how the members of society come to preserve or modify their social structures and to play their culturally determined roles. This kind of history has to do with the socialization

process and brings the anthropologist willy-nilly into contact with psychological thought and methods. See Mead, Whiting, and Kardiner, among others, on this point. The denial of discoverable lawfulness also is a trifle difficult to accept in the light of the recent work by Kroeber, Murdock, and the researchers utilizing Yale's cross-cultural index. It also seems to be inharmonious with Evans-Pritchard's own insistence that anthropologists study "problems and not peoples." Does this not imply regularities in the processes and relationships characterizing cultural behavior, and does this not imply lawfulness?

The approach of science deserves its long day in court if for no other reason than that the disciplines concerned with man have too long been unproductive in their literary and "humanistic" settings. Science may prove as powerful a tool for understanding the social environment as it has for plumbing the physical world. Those who deny it its chance do a real disservice in the sense of impeding the kind of public acceptance that would facilitate what may be a crucial effort at expanding man's knowledge of man.

EDWARD JOSEPH SHOEN, JR.

Columbia University

MUDD, EMILY HARTSHORNE. *The Practice of Marriage Counseling*. Pp. xix, 336. New York: Association Press, 1951. \$4.50.

Association Press makes a valuable contribution to the entire field of marriage and family relations in this latest volume in their family life series. Marriage counseling has developed so rapidly in recent decades that many questions about what and why is marriage counseling; what is professionally sound practice, just what is the process, who uses marriage counseling services, and what good do they do are as inevitable as they are difficult to answer.

Of all the persons who might have been prevailed upon to write a volume on marriage counseling practice, Dr. Emily Mudd is undoubtedly most competent. The marriage Council of Philadelphia with which she has been identified from its beginning is an outstanding model of a well-organ-

ized, carefully developed, professionally sound marriage counseling service. That its experiences, standards, and practice through the years form the basis of this volume gives the guide a practical reality that no arm-chair philosopher could possibly emulate.

The purpose of marriage counseling is succinctly stated as "promoting personal and social adjustment within the family by aiding those individuals who feel inadequate to utilize their own strength, and of furthering knowledge concerning the dynamics of relationship between husband and wife" (p. 4). Similar carefully defined terms in context throughout the volume enhance its use as a reference work.

Appendix B, "Reports from Functioning Services as Furnished by Their Executives," is a rich mine of current marriage counseling practice as reported by some thirty-five services in concentrated parallel format covering some seventy pages in the book. Such material suggests itself for courses and seminars dealing with the norms and variables in counseling clientele, settings, philosophy, and practice.

Perhaps the most valuable section of the entire work is Chapter 10, "The Process of Counseling," in which the reader is taken step by step through the process of professionally sound marriage counseling with an ease that only a thoroughly experienced practitioner could pace. Such a guide has been eagerly sought for some time and will be warmly welcomed by the many marriage counselors in service, in training, and in the related professions where marriage counseling is expected even though the professor, physician, or leader may feel inadequate to the task. Seeing the process in sharp focus as Dr. Mudd outlined it here will possibly reassure many a counselor that he or she is on the right track, and send him seeking supervised counseling training and experience to further develop his skills.

The only limitation is one of coverage. One wishes that there were some discussion of group counseling in connection with Table 10 on the group counseling experience of the Marriage Council of Philadelphia. The specific forms and materials developed by the agency are missed too. It

is therefore especially heartening to find a promise of their availability at the source upon request (p. 73).

This volume is an essential tool in the hands of the professionally interested. But further, it has wide implications and use far beyond the field of marriage counseling. For instance, "Current Events Affecting Marriage Counseling" (Chapter 2), treats intimate human interaction through the periods of social change and wartime disruption in far more vivid living terms than do most treatises on the subject: "And while these years were passing, men and women were living together in love and hate, in sickness and health, in poverty and wealth, in war and peace, as they have since the beginning of time. Others, separated by the exigencies of war, were waiting to live together in the hope of fulfilling their dreams, or in the dread of repeating a past replete with conflict and disappointment. . . ." It is this sense of flesh and blood people facing real life situations often just beyond their strength that gives dynamic meaning to the book and challenging purpose to the field.

EVELYN, MILLIS DUVAL

Chicago, Illinois

BRAY, STANLEY R. (Ed.). *Marriage and the Jewish Tradition: Toward a Modern Philosophy of Family Living*. Pp. xiii, 218. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. \$3.75.

This small book is a collection of essay materials by fifteen authors written at various times from 1916 to the present day. It would seem that the editorial effort by Stanley Bray might be justified by the rich contribution of Jews to the family tradition of Western Europe civilization, directly and through Biblical influence.

Unfortunately the contributions are of uneven value, at least to the non-Jewish reader. The section concerned with Jewish values reveals interesting facets of Jewish thought but is marred by ethnocentrism and somewhat naïve claims for Talmudic wisdom as foreshadowing the best modern scientific thought. In a brief historical section, however, Stanley Bray gives a straightforward historical survey without reliance on selected evidence.

A philosophical section contains some fine rhetoric by Goldstein and an essay by Felix Alder on "Permanence" which is worth the price of the book. Alder, in lucid prose, makes the case for broad ethical implications of family life, the significance of ideals, fulfillment by self-denial, and tendency for an expectation of permanence to create a broadly satisfying reality. Here is ethical thinking without intellectual compromise.

Concerning education for marriage, a valid point is made by Brickner that facts without values are not enough to motivate and integrate behavior in marriage. Without a hierarchy of values, there is doubt as to the use of knowledge, and there exists the possibility of using knowledge for evil ends. In this section there may be over identification of religion with morality, but there is also a revelation of the broad, tolerant, humanitarian conception of human destiny which flourishes along with religious ethnocentrism in the Jewish tradition.

A final section contains a stimulating new decalogue of family relations which proves that there is a growing eclectic Jewish tradition, sensitive to scientific evidence and not passively rigid in the dead hand of the past. Weinstein argues effectively for love as the rich product of responsible family living and sanely deplores the love fever brand of romanticism.

The book has some merit but fails to render the needed service of giving the full systematic picture of Jewish theory and practice of family life, past and present.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

Indiana University

POWERS, EDWIN, and HELEN WITMER. *An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency: The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study*. Foreword by Gordon W. Allport. Pp. xliii, 649. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. \$6.00.

This report of an extensive attempt to prevent delinquency through counseling is scrupulously honest in making clear that the project did not meet expectations.

Planned from the beginning to include a comparison of the counseled boys with a group who were not counseled the study reveal no better *average* delinquency record and no better "adjustment" for the counseled group than for the noncounseled. On the other hand, the thirty counseled boys who were most helped had a significantly superior record to their matched controls, and fewer counseled boys committed delinquencies that were classified as "serious."

One significant truth emerges—some boys are "counseling potentials" and will benefit from counseling. Such boys are those (1) whose homes have reasonable social and emotional integration, and (2) whose parents want help for their children. If these conditions are absent, continuous counseling relationships may provide no better results than ordinary social agency contacts. Although the original proposals by the late Dr. Richard Clarke Cabot had stressed the "friendliness" emphasis of counseling, there is some evidence to indicate that counseling is more successful when specific needs are sought and met. Mere good will is not sufficient. There is also evidence that, whereas counseling may not prevent early delinquency, it may be effective in forestalling repeated or serious delinquencies.

The foreword by Gordon Allport is most satisfactory. It includes a complete recapitulation of the study and a searching evaluation—all in the space of twenty-three pages. He—and this reviewer—decries the existence of twenty-two thousand pages of case reports and yet so little objective measurement and so little reporting of the study by professional writers. The evaluations by both Powers and Witmer are honest and searching, and yet somehow the reader is left unsatisfied. Is the reported delinquency record a good criterion when only 1 or 2 per cent of delinquencies ever become a matter of record? Why weren't measurement data used more frequently, and why weren't more of the quantified data treated statistically? Why was such a large variation in type and background of counselor permitted, thereby admitting an uncontrollable variable in the study? Who knows

what might have happened had it been possible to carry out the original plan to have all boys under counseling for a ten-year period? (Four and a half years was the average length of counseling for all boys in the study.)

From Dr. Cabot on, great devotion to boys and to human values is seen to be a strong motivating force in the workers of this study. Some of the concepts and procedures used now seem ineffective—case work and counseling have changed and have increased in professional effectiveness since 1935. To friendship must be added knowledge of personality dynamics and skill in dealing with individual need. Although the study lacked a point-by-point evaluation planned from the outset all future studies of this nature will profit greatly from what this study has taught us. It even teaches us to be more hopeful—three times as many boys were predicted to be delinquent as actually became so!

C. GILBERT WRENN

University of Minnesota

MICHIGAN, STATE OF. *Report of the Governor's Study Commission on the Deviated Criminal Sex Offender*. Pp. xi, 245. Detroit, 1951. No price.

In 1949 Governor G. Mennen Williams appointed a commission of twenty-one members to study the problem of the sex offender and to make recommendations for more effectively meeting the problem. This report presents in detail (245 pages) the facts gathered by the commission, the conclusions reached by the various subcommittees, and the final recommendations of the commission as a whole.

The summary and recommendations, forty in all, are wisely placed at the beginning of the volume with the committee reports and statistical data following. The recommendations will receive particular attention since they represent the crystallization of much fact finding and of many hours of discussion. Some are applicable only to the State of Michigan, others are of general interest to scientific workers in this field, to law enforcement agents, and to legislators.

No review can do justice to the mass of information and detail of conclusion which is embodied in this report. However, this reviewer would choose to accentuate certain findings which deserve widespread dissemination. In the report of the subcommittee on fact finding, Paragraph XI calls attention to the fact that sex offenders do not progress from petty offenses to serious crimes but rather remain, with few exceptions, confined to their specific pattern of disturbance. The petty sex offender of today is not the sex fiend of tomorrow. "The rapist and child attackers of tomorrow will come, in the main, not from today's minor sex offenders but today's reserve army of severely traumatized children and youth, many of whom have not yet committed a sexual offense of any kind." Widespread understanding of this point would be effective in preventing local hysteria on the detection of minor offenders.

Most scientific workers are convinced that the problem has been overemphasized to a serious degree. Spurred on by newspaper and magazine publicity, a state of hysteria may be said to exist at the present time. The report very soberly points out that most citizens are prone to react to sex offenses out of proportion to other types of peril which affect women and children even more grievously. The automobile kills 300 victims and injures thousands for every victim of a sex attack. "As for the emotional injury done by sex offenders we must not forget that maladjusted parents and neurotic teachers do incalculable harm to thousands of children every year." The misery and suffering and loss of life resulting from alcohol is many times more serious than that resulting from the sex offender.

It is difficult to maintain perspective in a field so bound up with conscious and unconscious taboos. A careful reading of this report will assist, however, and will well repay the effort. It is well written, lucid, and well organized. The report should be made widely available, representing as it does a valuable contribution to the subject.

LEWIS H. LOESER

Newark, New Jersey

HAVIGHURST, ROBERT J., and H. GERTHON MORGAN. *The Social History of a War Boom Community*. Pp. xix, 356. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951. \$4.00.

This book is deceptively easy to read and could easily slip through the social scientist's hand as a light-weight and ephemeral story, of something done and gone, and therefore of little more than antiquarian interest. Of course, boom towns may not be pure history. They may repeat themselves, and if so it is well to have the story of their growth, characteristics, and decline by an objective and competent observer; and it is equally important that that observer have sufficient standing in the field so that the responsible authorities would easily turn to him for the benefit of his observations when the time came to profit by it. But the book in its almost innocently bland story may well be—and seems to this reviewer to be—not only the history of a boom town but also an unusually fortunate laboratory study of community organization. That laboratory could hardly have been made to order, but the study represents an astute utilization of what the accident of wartime boom happened to offer.

Seneca, a small, simple community, suddenly grows fivefold its natural size to take care of an emergency shipbuilding program. Briefly, simply, but exquisitely, its social and economic portrait before the boom is sketched. Then, with the onset of the boom, the observer goes to his post and for some three years observes and records what he sees as the town grows to five times its size; later he sees it dissolve back to roughly its original dimensions. During the boom, tremendous tasks in production and administration are performed in a miraculously short time. Friction, discontent, unwonted prosperity, unnatural mixing of groups, the excitement of sophisticatedly planned propaganda accompany the events. Livelihood, social classes, church, school, politics, prejudices, physical plant, all pass under review and are seen before, during, and after.

What have the authors learned from it all? Much about the problems and dif-

faculties of a boom-town. But far more about the cultural characteristics of a mid-western American small town, and to the reviewer's eye, of the general American pattern. Under laboratory conditions more clearly observable than during normal pace of life, we see the preponderant attitudes about church and dancing, school and movies, cliques, neighbors, and neighboring strangers, social stratifications, anti-minority impulses, in fact daily life of a large segment of the American culture of the day. Many of us had pious hopes and did wishful thinking about community organization under such conditions. Without being any less idealistic, the authors seem able to stick to realities to avoid self-deception.

It seems that under an unpretentious form we have been given an unusually penetrating sociological study, supported on foundations of both quantitative data and qualitative evaluation with scientific objectivity, but without timidity in passing judgment when that seems useful and pertinent. One would wish, perhaps, a bit better use of statistical presentation, but one would not make a fuss. One would perhaps like to have more about method, but it is not too difficult to distill from what is given the details that one might want for similar enterprises.

The book does more and better than the title indicates.

PHILIP KLEIN

New York School of Social Work
Columbia University

CHASE, STUART, in collaboration with MARIAN TYLER CHASE. *Roads to Agreement: Successful Methods in the Science of Human Relations*. Pp. xii, 250. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951. \$2.75.

Stuart Chase is a ubiquitous author. Trenchant volumes from his pen now form a library: *The Tragedy of Waste*; *Your Money's Worth*; *Man and Machines*; *The Road We Are Travelling*; *Where's the Money Coming From*; *Rich Land, Poor Land*; *Idle Money, Idle Men*; *Government in Business*; and *Men at Work* reveal a rare facility in interpreting for popular consumption a wide economic knowledge,

informed by an engineering background. These fine books have helped educate young America realistically. In *Mexico* and *The Tyranny of Words* (reflecting his semantic hobby, now perhaps become well-nigh an obsession) we see how widely Chase can range.

In the present volume under joint authorship with his able wife, the author is deeply concerned, as in the early volume on *Democracy Under Pressure*, with the values and techniques of living together happily in our complex modern society.

How men behave in groups or collectively is, as our authors make fully if laboriously clear, our consuming problem. The 250 pages seem longer than they are, though this interesting volume reads easily and leaves a good flavor. Yet it is hard at times "to see the woods for the trees." There are, frankly, so many instances of the new and diverse community movements which illustrate the innovating intellectual processes of agreeing, that one wonders if it would not have been wiser to select a few. In that case the book could well have lived up to its high promise. For instance, Chapter 6 on the Quaker business meeting, as a method of obtaining unanimity is ably and convincingly written just as is Morris Llewellyn Cooke's application of the Friends' method to the corporate or staff meetings of industry some months back in the magazine section of the *Sunday Times*.

Again, "Conditions of Labor Peace," "Maturity in Labor Relations," and "Conciliators and Arbitrators" contain authentic material and hold together well. The conflict background is effective and detailed. The author has a happy way of handling terse words and phrases—"blocked goals," "solid ground," "the in-group and the out," "two worlds in one," "the road is open." All are intriguing. And the new gadget-like procedures—"role playing," "clinics and laboratories," "from the files," "in conference," come up for pertinent review, albeit perhaps for too much praise and too little criticism.

But hobby or predilection are played up, too! Chapter 18, "Danger—Men Talking—Semantics as a Useful Tool," fails to support its good title.

The book should really be three or four separate volumes—each integrated and clarified—each demonstrating the logical or scientific method of the new social science that Chase has so persistently supported and so wordily interpreted. For, we must ask, what are the weighty conclusions from this rather chaotic and therefore largely journalistic review? The main “principles of agreement”—stated, it is true, with engineering definiteness, are still in part high-level abstractions needing analysis and interpretation through illustration; and of course they require acceptance. These principles of agreement are: “participation,” “group energy,” “clearing,” “communication lines,” “facts first,” “agreement is easier when people feel secure.”

Where and whither the roads to agreement? And agreement over what? For agreement, granted all its smooth techniques, is not any more than the semantic cure-all, an end in itself. The book is really a compendium of ideas and methods; and so it lacks the “integration” that is its declared purpose and central, reiterated advocacy.

FRANCIS D. TYSON

University of Pittsburgh

HAAR, CHARLES M. *Land Planning Law in a Free Society: a Study of the British Town and Country Planning Act*. Pp. xiii, 213, 16 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951. \$4.00.

This monograph, the first of a series of Harvard Legal Studies, ranks with John N. Hazard's *Society Housing Law* (1939) as a model presentation of foreign legal material in its administrative, economic, social, and technical setting, with illuminating comparisons to American problems and legislation. While at the Harvard Law School, Mr. Haar found his way across Kirkland Street to the Graduate School of Design, so that he knew what to look for when a Sheldon traveling fellowship took him to Britain—and knew how to interpret what he saw.

Mr. Haar's tightly written volume is the chronicle of a major revolution, little understood in this country because it is embodied in a highly complex and tech-

nical act of Parliament, buttressed by a dozen detailed Ministerial Orders supplemented by schedules—all couched in a foreign tongue of such phrases as “betterment,” “appointed day,” and “notional lease.” It is the great merit of Mr. Haar's book that he has explained these provisions lucidly and as simply as their technical content permits.

The revolution is in the concept of land ownership, often considered the ultimate bulwark of free, private property. Henceforth in Britain increases in land value arising from change in use belong to the state. A person wishing to use land more intensively pays the state a “development charge.” A fund has been created to compensate owners for the loss of that part of the value of their land that reflects its possible future increase in value growing out of change in use. The only point where I fail to follow Mr. Haar's analysis is when he says that this fund (£300,000-000) “in effect, is the liquidation value of Britain's land” (p. 104). This device frees the state to supervise land use, to control when and where what should be built, without the necessity of public ownership of land through compulsory acquisition, which remains a reserve power. As Mr. Haar makes clear, the desired economic and social results are achieved without the “nationalization” of land; if anything, land is being “municipalized,” all of this in a typically British framework of broadly drawn legislation, to be implemented by administrative refinement, relying heavily on such technical criteria as common sense.

Interestingly, Mr. Haar begins with an exposition of the machinery of town and country planning, showing how local government, specially created “regional” bodies, and the national government work together (well or badly). He is conscious that a national plan cannot be evolved by a ministry co-equal with other ministries, since the planning process is essentially co-ordinative and is a task of the executive; but he fumbles in identifying the proper place for planning in the organization of Britain's national government.

Mr. Haar is not content merely to digest the legislation. He is concerned with the

dynamics of planning and land development, both politically and in the market place. What will be the motivations of landowners and developers under the act? When and how must public authorities prod, restrain, or intervene? Where will the friction points be? It is to such questions that he addresses himself. One cannot in a brief review present the manifold trains of thought and speculation that will excite Americans in a variety of social sciences if they will accept Mr. Haar's guidance in interpreting this technical material, of such revolutionary import. Both Conservatives and Socialists have contributed to invent these new tools—for the first time truly the tools of the planner, not merely an adjunct to laws for better housing—to make England a green and pleasant land with homes fit for heroes.

CHARLES S. ASCHER

Brooklyn College

HUNTINGTON, EMILY H. *Cost of Medical Care: The Expenditures for Medical Care of 455 Families in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1947-1948*. Pp. xvi, 146. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951. \$2.50.

The Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics of the University of California has presented a study of the expenditures for medical care of 455 moderate-income families in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1947-1948. After extensive analysis of the expenditures for medical care, the composition of the families, the illnesses for which medical care was required, the types of medical care required, and the amount of prepayment coverage, this report concludes that expenditures for medical care can be burdensome and sometimes disastrous and that "the only way that real protection can be accomplished is through a system of compulsory health insurance at least for the low- and moderate-income groups in our population." When this study could have contributed greatly to the available literature on medical costs, it is unfortunate that the author chose to present such a preconceived idea in her final statement rather

than a conclusion based on the findings of the study.

The families used for the study generally consisted of a husband, wife, and one or two children; almost two thirds of the wives were at the child-bearing ages of life. The average income of these families was \$4,100. Half had incomes between \$3,000 and \$4,000 and only a few had incomes less than \$3,000 or more than \$6,000. In the words of the author, they were considered "a well-to-do group of our wage-earning population." On the average, these families spent about \$300 for all types of medical and dental care during the year the study was made, or 7½ per cent of their family income. This compares with 4 per cent of income spent annually for medical care by all families in the United States as reported by the Department of Commerce. While the average family medical expenditures in the Heller study were \$300, one-half of the families had expenditures of less than \$225, 64 per cent had bills less than \$300, and 76 per cent bills less than \$400. Thus the great majority of these families had expenditures for the entire year that could not be called disastrous in relation to their income.

The most common illnesses were colds and influenza. In approximately 75 per cent of the reported illnesses the bill was less than \$50. The high bills were incurred primarily for childbirth. Other conditions for which the bills were large were female disorders, diseases of the heart and circulatory system, cancers and tumors, allergic disorders, and nervous disorders. Childbirth costs were the largest single item of medical expense for the group as a whole as well as for those families in which a child was born during the year. This fact indicates a defect in the author's sample and in her understanding of the data. Every social scientist knows that young families spend heavily on child-bearing and that the heavy expenses for clothing, recreation, and education come later when the family income is usually higher.

The study found that a large proportion of the costly illnesses were hospitalized—70 per cent, in contrast with only about 10

per cent of all illnesses. And two-thirds of the families with health insurance were covered for hospitalized illness. The author, however, states that while 60 per cent of the families had some form of health insurance during the year, the insurance was inadequate primarily because its coverage was concentrated on hospitalized illness.

But the hospitalized illnesses are the costly ones for which families want protection. The fact that they are getting protection for these illnesses is indicated in the Heller report which states: "The more expensive illnesses were those which were most likely to receive prepaid care." Furthermore, for those illnesses where the costs were covered by insurance—usually the costly ones—any additional costs were very low, less than \$25 in 68 per cent of the cases. Of course, it is desirable that other medical costs be covered, but in something as new as health insurance it is only logical that the first plans introduced would be designed to meet the costs of the most burdensome illnesses—the hospitalized ones. More and more plans offering other types of medical insurance are being introduced.

According to *A Survey of Accidents and Health Coverage in the United States, 1950* (prepared by the Survey Committee of the Health Insurance Council), at the end of 1950, 76,961,000 persons were protected against hospital expense, 54,477,000 against surgical expense, and 21,589 against medical expense. This compares with 60,995,000 persons covered for hospital expense, 34,060,000 for surgical expense, and 12,895,000 for medical expense at the end of 1948—the year used in the Heller study. Thus in the two years since the Heller study was made, hospital expense coverage increased 26 per cent, surgical expense coverage increased 60 per cent, and medical expense coverage, 67 per cent. In fact, since 1947—the first year during which the Heller study was conducted—hospitalization coverage has increased 46 per cent, surgical coverage 108 per cent, and medical coverage 143 per cent. It is obvious, then, that health insurance coverage is increasing at a phenomenal rate and that surgical and medical expense coverage is rapidly catching up with hospitalization

coverage. It is likely, however, that hospitalization insurance will continue to be the most popular since it meets the costs of the most burdensome illnesses.

For these reasons I cannot agree with the author that "voluntary health insurance has been tried and found wanting, and that it is not likely in the future to be able to give insurance protection to those who need it most." On the contrary, it has proved to be the most effective method of meeting medical costs and it is rapidly reaching more and more individuals.

FRANK G. DICKINSON

American Medical Association
Chicago, Illinois

HOPKINS, C. HOWARD. *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America*. Pp. xiv, 818. New York: Association Press, 1951. \$5.00.

The elaborate detail by which the author has tried to accord fair appraisal to so many local organizations of the Young Men's Christian Association and to the many movements and internal groups has made this history bulky. But the eighty pages of notes and index redeem the work and make it a valuable library edition.

The year 1920 was the watershed of the century. During that year Y.M.C.A. membership reached one million. "The demise of traditional methodology of the Association was illustrated by the dropping of revivalism" (p. 590). Also the adoption of new aims "for the purpose of building Christian personality and a Christian society" marked the period. Strangely, the use of life problems, economic questions, and personal conduct in the Bible class discussions (Bible classes had always been a central activity) produced the top enrollment of young men in Bible classes—250,000. Staff structure also shifted from a list of secretaries classified by function (physical, religious) to one classified by age level.

In the United States there are 1,688 Associations: 1,088 city, 116 transportation, 360 college or university, 96 rural, and 28 with military units. In 1950 one hundred buildings were being built, involving the investment of \$37 million (p.

725). The running story is readable. It tells of the Boston and Montreal locals patterned after the George Williams units in London and existing before 1851. It describes the growth of physical training methods and of the modern gymnasiums in major centers throughout America and the Orient. It shows how our athletic codes of honor were helped along by the Clean-Sport Roll of Luther Gulick and how James Naismith, with Stagg, McCurdy, and others, invented basketball specifically to meet indoor needs of the Associations as set for the secretaries in the perspective of creative leaders. The author might have shown but did not that in the campus situation it was the Young Men's Christian Association leaders who introduced orientation week ideas and methods, originated the foreign student services, including the International Houses, set a pattern for the campus pastorates, introduced the intercollegiate and general student conventions, and were virtually the precursors of the deans of students of our era.

The history gives attention to the beginnings of the organization, the separate movements within it, its great leaders, and its experiments.

It was early necessary to declare that the Association was not a church. In 1857 Alexander Campbell, speaking on the philosophy of the Associations, said of the lectures sponsored by them: "they might range from spiritualism to geology," and "religious controversy was scrupulously avoided"; but "the subjects ought not be anti-religious" (p. 31). In 1869 at the Portland convention the "Evangelical Test" for membership was adopted, thus assuring the centrality of religion, favoring Christianity, and establishing the lay basis of the organization and staff leadership.

The will to remain remote from political issues was severely tested on abolition, and the author shows how three enthusiasms were interwoven: (1) the national reach of the independent Associations recently become conscious of general strength; (2) an international relation between various young men's organizations—Canadian, British, French, and American; and (3) the two political loyalties,

South and North. In the eyes of this historian the action during this period to deny the over-all Y.M.C.A. convention any power over any local Association seemed to have served a genuine service (pp. 80-90).

The student movement had its inception in 1858 when at the two state universities of Michigan and Virginia students and faculty established Christian Associations. Ten years later the Y.M.C.A. officially adopted the purpose "to plant a Christian Association" at each university, college, and seminary in the nation. The first ones established after this declaration of purpose were in 1870 at Lawrence College and the University of Wisconsin.

Apparently women joined the local Associations, but later the sexes were separated organically after college women appeared at conventions.

The educational work emanated from the two centers for the training of secretaries, Springfield in Massachusetts and George Williams College in Chicago. The summer training schools and conferences at Silver Bay, Lake Geneva, Asilomar, Blue Ridge, Estes Park, and Seabeck became centers of inspiration, instruction, and dedication. Through these, able college men were enlisted for the secretaryship.

The student volunteer drive in the American colleges, led by C. K. Ober, John R. Mott, and later Sherwood Eddy, E. T. Colton, and Robert E. Speer (p. 304), yielded 600 college men and women for posts in Christian Associations in the Orient.

An industrial movement prepared special secretaries for manufacturing centers. An agricultural movement was instituted. And the Army-Navy Associations grew with World War I. The camping movement found able sponsorship in the Associations. The Association Press was organized in 1911 to bring the public literature not available to lay groups on adolescent psychology, camping, recreation, personal adjustment, sex education, and group work.

Chapter 15 describes the Chicago Y.M.C.A. College, the Southern Y.M.C.A. Graduate School, and the contributions of Yale, Oberlin, Princeton, and Cornell.

The record, difficult to present with good perspective, is well drawn, and the facts are alive with human values.

EDWARD W. BLAKEMAN

Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, California

TENENBAUM, SAMUEL. *William Heard Kilpatrick: Trail Blazer in Education*. Pp. xiii, 318. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951. \$4.00.

Every student of modern education knows something, or possibly a great deal, about Professor William H. Kilpatrick, the Columbia University professor of education who celebrated his eightieth birthday in November. His place in twentieth-century education has been equaled by few. He is widely known both as a teacher and as an education theorist. But his claim to greatness rests more on his instructional skill than on his philosophy. His classes at Columbia were the largest ever assembled at the university. Kilpatrick's philosophy followed rather closely the pattern of John Dewey's and that of various other Columbia associates. Although an interpreter of Dewey, Kilpatrick's contributions adhered more closely to strict educational theory, and it was only occasionally that he made brief sorties into the realm of social and economic theory. As teacher, Professor Kilpatrick had few peers. His large classes caused him to develop a new teaching method for handling auditorium-sized groups. His plan involved a panel discussion by students with the instructor furnishing an introduction and summary of the problems under discussion. Used entirely with eager, conscientious graduate students, the plan was highly successful. Emerson once wrote, "an institution is the lengthened shadow of the man." Men such as Kilpatrick have made Columbia the institution that it is.

Samuel Tenenbaum, a former student of Professor Kilpatrick, has compiled a timely book about the retired Columbia educator. At times Tenenbaum makes broad and sweeping statements concerning the merits of some of Professor Kilpatrick's theories and accomplishments. For example, he says (p. 88) of the

Project Method, it "probably had more influence on modern American education in changing and modifying classroom practice than any other document yet written." Again, the author compares his subject's blasts against conventional practices with Martin Luther's ninety-five theses and Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. And, one notes this sentence (p. 156), "The project method is the ideal medium for ensuring wholesome, desirable concomitant learnings, which are so much more important than the ostensible, overt, direct learnings." One wonders if the side show and the main tent shouldn't change places.

This book throws much light on the Essentialist-Progressivist controversy of a dozen years ago. On one side was Bagley, realist philosopher with emergent evolution theories, and on the other Kilpatrick, the champion of the project method and concomitant learning. Loud were the accusations hurled by each side, and the bitterness was apparently great if we are to judge from Kilpatrick's sharp-edged diary notes made at the time of Professor Bagley's death. Unquestionably the project method made a deep imprint on modern school method, but whether it can be blamed for some of the soft pedagogy of today is debatable. Contemporary educators wonder whether the project method philosophy is tough-minded enough to cope with modern school and social problems, problems such as pressure groups interests and tactics and the new media of communications.

Any student who has admired a former professor finds it difficult to write objectively about him. Mr. Tenenbaum says in the preface to his book that he is vexed because he could find so little on which to disagree with his subject. Much of the book is, therefore, a narrative of Kilpatrick's early life, his personal battles, his academic life, and a scant critical evaluation of his philosophy. By reading between the lines, one gathers that Professor Kilpatrick was exceedingly egotistical, probably vain. He fought his university retirement regulations, and glorified in the kudos of a coterie of handpicked students. The author tells us that much of

the material for the book came directly from Dr. Kilpatrick, and at times the author employs a direct question and answer technique to bring out a point. Checking facts or bits of theory directly with the originator or with friends and former students has advantages, but the drawbacks of dealing so closely with a dynamic personality are equally noticeable. The author may experience the hot breath of his subject on his neck.

JAMES S. KINDER

Pennsylvania College for Women

BROWN, FRANCIS J. (Ed.). *National Defense and Higher Education*. The Report of a Conference of Representatives of Member Organizations of the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., January 19-21, 1951. Pp. vi, 126. Washington: American Council on Education, 1951. \$1.00.

As summaries of speeches and commentaries go, this is a particularly lively and informative document. The occasion that gave rise to the remarks reported was the 1951 midwinter conference of the constituent member organizations of the American Council on Education.

The impact of four major national defense problems on higher education was discussed. The problems considered were manpower, economics, civil defense, and veterans' education.

The papers and discussion on emergency manpower problems in general approved the Universal Military Training and Service bill then being debated in the Congress (and subsequently enacted into law with modifications). President Conant, education's chief champion of universal military service, presented the usual arguments favoring his point of view. Contrary to his previous public statements, which seemed to many to simplify the issues with amazing abandon, he recognized a serious difficulty. It is the need "to have a small fraction of each age group selected in some manner and, after a brief period of basic military training, continued in college for their education" in order to accomplish the training of "officers and specialists." Charles Ode-

gaard cogently discussed certain issues relating to the administration of the Selective Service System, to which he has been an adviser. Jesse Bogue, of the American Association of Junior Colleges, condemned the Selective Service College Qualification Test as giving special privilege (deferment) to the intellectually elite and advocated more military training on college campuses. Only one of the speakers whose remarks are recorded opposed universal military service—as a contribution "to the deepening of poverty, disease, and ignorance."

In speaking of education and present-day economics, Léon H. Keyserling, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, told of the difficulties in making people understand the serious implications of the fierce competition for manpower and materials among military, industrial, and civilian components of the nation. He viewed the problem as a major educational responsibility of the government since the government is responsible for most of the basic programs involved. "It is government alone which has access to the range of information required to place before the public what the problem is. . . ." John D. Millett, of the Commission on Financing Higher Education, argued that in light of the current inflation, any reduction in faculty salaries would be disastrous to higher education. The teacher shortage, school construction costs, and uneconomic college curriculums were considered by other speakers.

No holds were barred by the commentators on veterans' education in referring to the administration of the GI bill by the Veterans Administration. The chairman of the House Committee to Investigate the Veterans Education Program led off with a review of the problems besetting the administrators of the program—and they have been many and complex, indeed. Representatives of three universities followed with an animated discussion of some of the unhappy experiences undergone by institutions of higher education in trying to provide an education for veterans of World War II. A representative of the Veterans Administration closed the discussion with a

reading from the federal budget for the fiscal year 1952.

Educators who did not attend the conference summarized in this review will find it interesting reading.

CLAUDE E. HAWLEY

Washington, D. C.

COOK, LLOYD ALLEN. *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*. Pp. xiii, 271. Washington: American Council on Education, 1951, \$3.75.

Lloyd Allen Cook, professor of educational sociology at Wayne University, was for four years the director of the College Study in Intergroup Relations. Last year he issued the first of a two-volume report in which the various participating colleges describe the programs they developed to reduce prejudice and to teach co-operation attitudes and behavior. The present volume is the final one in the set. It is largely analytical and interpretative.

The volume is divided in four parts. The first deals with the nature of intergroup relations. Professor Cook points out the confusion which exists in this area and concludes that intergroup relations is primarily concerned with the problems of status, or positions of groups of people in our society. While he properly focuses on the social tensions, he stresses the need for a democratic social philosophy which will permeate efforts in this area from policy making to the day-to-day behavior.

In the second and third parts the nature of prejudice and ways of dealing with it are discussed, followed by an application of the conclusions to problems of improving teachers, both trainors and trainees. The main point is that the basic units in society are not individuals but groups of personalities. The problem of intergroup education is to help people see themselves and others "groupwise" and to learn to act democratically on group levels of behavior. "What this viewpoint argues . . . is the obvious need to make changes in the social system that causes so much individual maladjustment" (p. 248).

In the last two chapters, Professor Cook refers to a "confusion corner" where problems were often stored. That he has

not successfully cleaned up this corner is no discredit to him. When it is recalled that the College Study in Intergroup Relations included 24 colleges from New York to San Francisco, from Moorhead, Minnesota, to colleges in Alabama and Texas, with a director serving only half time, an associate who changed yearly, and with limited funds, it is not surprising that the results achieved did not go far beyond the exploratory stage. Finally, it must be said that this volume will repay its readers many times because it reveals in unprecedented ways how a democratic leader works with people. Teachers of all kinds will find it helpful; and laymen who have read Stuart Chase's *Roads to Agreement* will find a discussion of group dynamics in action which will sober, yet hearten, them.

MARTIN CHWOROWSKY

University of Pennsylvania

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

MUMFORD, LEWIS. *The Conduct of Life*. Pp. ix, 342. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1951. \$5.00.

This volume is the "preface," so its author indicates, to several volumes that have gone before, namely, *Technics and Civilization*, *The Culture of Cities*, *The Condition of Man*. The point of view is that of an architect and student of design with a fair working knowledge of general philosophy and recent trends of thought. No existing philosophy, he finds, is adequate, nor is science or religion equal to our needs: "Personalism," "humanism," "materialism," "idealism," "existentialism," "communism," "Emersonian individualism" are rejected by name. Economics, politics, the social sciences in general, are also weighed and found wanting, or at least found wanting, whether weighed or not.

The main purpose of the author is, by his own declaration, an "axial change" in our system of thinking and in the social order—a quest for an order in which man is no longer a mirror, but an interpreter and director. Sundry applications of the

new system are made to religion, to the family, the community, to forms of volunteer service. Various types of mutual aid and love loom large. There is a strong trace of Gandhi in his opposition to the machine as against muscle, and of Kropotkin in mutual aid as a factor in evolution. The values of love go a long, long way.

Between contriving a group or community, always small, and a constitution of the world, the industrious seeker for the new opus pauses to lament the opening of second-class mail, and the using of tobacco and alcohol, although conceding generously the value of piped running water instead of the bucket carried from the spring.

Distinguished thinkers of the type of Einstein, Conant, Keynes, MacIver, Overstreet, Smith, and in general most students of economics, politics, and jurisprudence are not drawn into the discussion. Even Lasswell's brilliant essays on politics are conspicuously passed by. He has no time or space for the United Nations, the cultural work of United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, the Social Science Research Council, the struggles of many noble men and women in our day and others for a better world. After all, he might say, this is not a work of analysis but of neosynthesis.

In this brief review it is impossible to do more than offer a brief summary of much effort and many words. This work does not rise to the heights of a final neoaxial philosophy—the center of a new order. Yet it has some of the essentials of such a plan—dreaming and daring. After all, this volume, says the courageous author, is only a "preface." We can always hope and pray for the emergence of his new key to the new day.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM

University of Chicago

CASSERLEY, J. V. LANGMEAD. *Morals and Man in the Social Sciences*. Pp. ix, 230. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951. 12/6.

Given in part as lectures (at the Ecumenical Institute, near Geneva), this book is calculated to interest the religious more

than the scientific. The author, himself "an ordained sociologist" in England, observes that there is more overlap, and so more room for controversy, between theology and social science than between it and natural science. The zone of dispute is marked out by him as "the interpretation of ethics and the evaluation of man." The conflict itself is between "relativism," indigenous in social science, and "absolutism," here treated as imperative in religion.

The author of course deplores the conflict, however natural it may be; and he sets himself to minimize it. The undertow of science is toward determinism and the minimization of the personal; and the glory of religion is its maximization of the personal, even to the elevation of man above the natural order. Already it can be seen what the line of argument is, ending with proper leeway to save both through this end-formulation of the maxim of social science: "There are sociological aspects of human activities. There is no human activity of which the sociological aspect is the only aspect" (p. 218).

Though the outcome of the argument be foregone, apologetics being what it is, nevertheless the intervening means are not without interest and importance. Contrasting not only secularism and religion but also classical and Christian ethics, the author not infrequently by means of biblical texts unfolds a humanism generally acceptable to civilized men today, and that regardless of the theological basis he finds for it. This fact makes translation possible between the religious and the scientific sectors for our division of labor, provided one sees that not secularism but sectarianism is the enemy of religion, as it is of science. Since our author seems relatively free of sectarian motives, we can allow him the "defects of his qualities," seeing that he has the "qualities of his defects." I was particularly interested in his contribution to the history of sociology, and notably in his deference to John Stuart Mill and the honorable place therein which he accords Vico.

By grading relativism up toward absolutism (for what otherwise is it relative to?) and by grading absolutism down

from sheer transcendence (for how could it otherwise be relevant for us?), Christianity emerges not only as the end of our endeavor but as the very precondition of all social science. The "problem" here presented will strike some scientists, especially in America, as trumped up, and the victory over the problem as cheap; but, given the problem, who will not allow this victory to be better than defeat? They also serve who only reduce their own tensions.

T. V. SMITH

Syracuse University

KRONER, RICHARD. *Culture and Faith*. Pp. xvi, 278. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951. \$5.00.

This book, by a former German scholar now professor of the philosophy of religion at Union Theological Seminary, is another attempt to deal with the cultural crisis of our epoch. It is tightly reasoned work, persistent and consistent in the movement of its argument, and rich in the scope and quality of its scholarship. It is not a secular treatment in the manner of Mannheim, Kahler, Mumford, and Sorokin; it is rather a religious orientation in the tradition of Reinhold Niebuhr to whom the author admits discipleship. Refuting the conclusion that philosophy and theology are different "sciences," and hoping to achieve a "new synthesis" of them, the author functions both as secular and theological philosopher.

His point of departure is the philosophic quest. The philosopher "is compelled to give an answer to the ultimate questions concerning the meaning of human life." These questions revolve fundamentally about the duality of world and self (or ego), which is the *Urphänomen*, and which poses "the most fundamental and the most astounding of all oppositions." Secular philosophy in itself is inadequate to answer these questions fully. To "civilize" himself, man must also have faith—"biblical faith." The analysis consists of an examination of experience, culture, and faith.

Experience—of man in and with the universe—comes from impressions and not by means of reason. It is the procedure

of being "directly acquainted with the object of knowledge"; what we experience is given to us. Scientific or experimental or impersonal experience provides us with but an infinitesimal fraction of the store of knowledge we need, acquire, and use in daily life. Most of our experience is personal. But our "ultimate knowledge"—knowledge of ultimate truth and reality—can only be achieved through the co-operation of all kinds of experience, impersonal and personal, individual and social, private and public, immediate and mediated.

Experience issues in culture or cultural activity, that is, "man's self-civilizing exertions and performances." It also motivates cultural activity in that it contains the tasks or sets the purposes which are carried through in civilization. As far as we know "culture" is confined to the human realm. Man alone has intellect and will, "freedom" (in choices) and self-determination, "history" (his long specific experiences and achievements), ends and purposes, and an "inner" life; above all, he has communication on the language level. Culture provides adjustment through science, art, technology, economy, morality, the state, and so on.

But secular experience and culture are not sufficient. Man never gains paradise by his own effort. Full self-sufficiency, satisfaction, and completion come from outside and beyond culture—from the "giver" himself. Eventually human thought has to embrace divine understanding of men and the world, and yield to divine instruction for the ultimate answers to the "antinomies." Faith thus overcomes the limits of culture and effects the ultimate reconciliation of the polarities of experience. This faith is the articulation or expression of "mystical experience," and is a "mystical reality." It comes, not by reasoning, and not through the mythological religions, but only through the "revelation" of biblical, prophetic religion. Culture is consummated by such faith.

In the last chapter, Kroner transposes himself completely from the role of systematic philosopher into that of biblical theologian. He seemed to the reviewer

to become a dogmatist propounding a special religious faith—a "school" of faith, so to speak.

In addition to a fascinatingly developed thesis, the social scientist will find here excellent treatments of experience, its nature, meaning, and place in the human career, and of culture, especially the analyses of language, science, art and aestheticism, technology, economy, morality, the state, and statism.

While the author doubtless wanted the book to be read as a whole and not for its details, in view of the richness of its scholarship and the wealth of superbly selected and developed concepts, it is a pity that there is no index.

J. O. HERTZLER

University of Nebraska

MOEHLMAN, CONRAD HENRY. *The Wall of Separation Between Church and State: An historical study of recent criticism of the religious clause of the First Amendment.* Pp. xvi, 239. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1951. \$3.00.

Two recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, the *Everson v. Board of Education*, popularly known as the New Jersey School Bus case, and the *McCollum v. Board of Education of Champaign, Illinois* case, together with the wide publicity given to the several bills which have been introduced in the United States Congress providing for federal aid to education, have served to highlight the whole question of church-state relations before the American people. Our Roman Catholic friends are undoubtedly on the march, and one of their main objectives is to breach the wall of separation between church and state in order to gain, for their church, government assistance in maintaining their now elaborate parochial school system.

Specifically this book has been prepared by Professor Moehlman to refute the arguments advanced by J. M. O'Neill in his book *Religion and Education under the Constitution* (1949) in support of the Catholic claim for such assistance. The O'Neill book may be accurately described as a diatribe against the Supreme Court decision in the *McCollum* case, in

which the use of public school property to teach sectarianism was declared unconstitutional. O'Neill argues that because the words "separation of church and state" do not appear in the first clause of the First Amendment, therefore our constitutional fathers had no intention of bringing about a separation of church and state, but intended that the states be left free to establish churches as they pleased.

Moehlman convincingly shows that the attitude of the founding fathers was diametrically opposed to such an interpretation of their intentions. In a number of other recent Catholic publications, such as W. Parsons' *The First Freedom* (1948), as well as in numerous pronouncements by Catholic bishops and archbishops, it has now become fairly evident that the Catholic Church has adopted a definite and well thought-out plan of attack against the principle of separation of church and state.

No one in the nation is better prepared to refute these sweeping claims than Professor Conrad H. Moehlman. A life-long student of church history and particularly of American church-state relations, he has to his credit four important books dealing with this question: *The Catholic-Protestant Mind* (1928); *The American Constitutions and Religion* (1938); *School and Church: The American Way* (1944); and the present volume. The author is adept in using the sources. Perhaps the most valuable section of the book is Chapter I, "Historical Background," where Catholic official pronouncements are brought together, clearly showing the Roman Catholic position through the centuries on the whole matter of church and state.

A Roman Catholic bishop in Illinois has recently proclaimed that the public school is public enemy, number one. The principal argument advanced by the Catholics for such an assertion is the growing secularism that is abroad in this country and throughout the world. Professor Moehlman refutes this sweeping condemnation of the public school in a splendid chapter entitled "The Splendor of Public Education," a chapter which every public school teacher and every Protestant minister should read. But why recommend one

chapter above the rest! The entire book is a mine of accurate information upon one of the most important issues facing the American people today.

WILLIAM W. SWEET

Southern Methodist University

FICHTER, JOSEPH H. *Dynamics of a City-Church*. Vol. I of "Southern Parish." Pp. ix, 283. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951. \$5.00.

Several types of readers will be interested in this book (and the three volumes to follow) on the inner organization of the life of a Catholic parish, written by a Jesuit priest and a group of research associates: (1) Catholics, for it deals candidly with, and documents statistically, such matters as the amount and intensity of daily Catholic observance perhaps rarely faced or discussed openly by Catholic laymen. For instance, it concludes that "... the Catholic mind of [40 adult males and 28 females selected as] outstanding parishioners [in beliefs and practices] is about two-thirds Catholic and one-third pagan." (2) Those Protestants who wonder what it is really like to be a Catholic, and will scratch their protesting heads over such concepts as "the pure supernatural culture." (3) Students of the sociology of religion, as here are important beginnings of sorely needed analysis of a hard-to-penetrate area. (4) and those who, like the writer of this review, regard the Catholic Church as the best-organized international power structure operating across the world today and want to study its organization close-in at the American grass roots.

Father Fichter begins with two statements that—together with the *Imprimi Potest*, the *Nihil Obstat*, and the *Imprimatur* of the Catholic hierarchy on the reverse of the title page—suggest how seriously he and his fellow churchmen take this empirical study of "the purposive inner functions of Catholicism":

"... Roman Catholicism is the institution with the best possible prospect of reintegrating Western culture" (p. 4).

"In so far as the 'order of nature' is employed, Catholicism will succeed or fail in the imperative job of reconstructing

and reintegrating modern society mainly on the basis of the strength or weakness of its individual parishes. In other words, a vigorous parochial system not only bespeaks an internally strong Catholic social structure but also promises solidarity for the larger community and the nation in which it exists" (pp. 7-8).

This first volume deals intensively with the religious functions of a single urban parish of nearly 7,000 persons, part of a large city in one of our Southern Mississippi Valley states. (The other three volumes to follow will analyze, respectively, the structure and operation of the network of Catholic societies in this same parish—parochial school and family life and "particular problems of the parish structure.") The organization of the contents is fairly conventional: the nature of the parish; recruitment to the parish; the confessional; the sacraments; Catholic revivalism; "the Catholic mind of the parish"; and so on.

Here one sees a hard-working pastor and two assisting priests at their daily work, rather surprisingly not without friction with adjoining parishers, among a Catholic population in which women outnumber men in all spiritual activities except the occasional week-end retreats by seven to three. Only 51 per cent of the parishioners seven years old and older follow the "minimum obligation" of 100 per cent attendance at mass on Sundays and holy days "imposed by the Church under pain of mortal sin." Parishioners grumble that the priests are too busy to make sick calls. The apparatus of the Church fights a ceaseless battle against "leakages" of members from religious observances and parochial school. ("Making allowances for mortalities, we find that approximately 700 elementary-school children who ought to be members of the parish have 'disappeared' from it since baptism," as compared with 755 in the parochial school.) Particularly interesting are the tensions regarding the marriage ceremony: requests from socially-aspiring members for the performance of the ceremony in a higher-status church in an adjoining parish; requests for home and fashionable outdoor weddings; mixed mar-

riages (29 per cent of all marriages in the parish in the past two decades were mixed marriages, with a low of 17 per cent in 1938, a high of 42.5 in 1932, and each year 1941-46 showing a higher-than-average percentage); and birth control. (The average number of children per marriage, unrefined for age of wife and length of marriage, is 2.25 where both parents are Catholics, 2.10 where only the wife is a Catholic, and 1.54 where only the husband is a Catholic.)

The parish studied was not selected as markedly superior or inferior. A priest warned the research group that it might find the parish "a hollow shell of Catholicism." This judgment the book rejects in its final pages, stating that the parish simply "has not been awakened to its full religious possibilities." These volumes as they appear invite close study. For this is an apparatus, still in its developmental stage in the United States but advancing rapidly, which, unlike the rest of our institutions, works with planned programs definitely envisaged in terms of centuries ahead; an apparatus equipped with international and subordinate national general staffs; which utilizes a stout, though flexible, policy that aims both at advancing Catholicism as a power structure and at enhancing welfare policies consonant with its doctrines in the general society.

ROBERT S. LYND

Columbia University

COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

COLE, G. D. H. *The British Co-operative Movement in a Socialist Society*. Pp. 168. London: George Allen & Unwin (distributed in the U. S. by the Macmillan Company), 1951. \$3.00.

This book is written by a Fabian socialist who is reluctant to contemplate either an indefinite continuance of capitalistic enterprise or any important extension of nationalization (pages 15-16). In the preface, Cole makes it clear that this is a personal report to the Fabian Society and the Sara Hull Trust, which perhaps neither of them will like. "The great majority of

leading Cooperators will almost certainly dislike it, because they will find the idea of a great competing 'mutual trading' movement under State sponsorship distasteful as well as novel. Nor will most of them like any better the high importance which I attach to the development of Producers' Cooperation."

Cole points out that retail trade in England is divided among the consumer co-operative stores, the small private shopkeepers, and the large-scale capitalist retailers, and that the last of these does the largest share of business. He would have positive steps taken to change this situation and essentially eliminate the large-scale private retailers. His reasons are two, namely, these large concerns engage in wasteful competition for patronage, and the "mutual" type of trading exemplified by the co-operative societies has positive virtues which he believes should be extended (Chapter 5, especially page 75).

Mutualization means nothing, according to Cole, "unless it carries with it a real element of democratic control," and this requires organization of participants into local groups (page 98). Apparently he believes that the co-operative movement should be so organized that it not only will result in a particular distribution of income through patronage dividends, but also so that individual members will have a direct voice in management and in directing the use of resources. He appears to fear that the employees may take over the actual control of the entire co-operative movement in place of the consumers. This point was made some years ago by Carr-Saunders and associates in their classic study of British co-operation.

The basic dilemma in which Cole finds the co-operative movement is that the State now is doing in England many of the things for which co-operation was established. Cole is sure something should be done to protect the position of co-operation as a potent force in the economy, but it seems to this reviewer that no clear-cut remedy for the situation appears in the book.

ROLAND S. VAILE

University of Minnesota

STAHL, KATHLEEN M. *British and Soviet Colonial Systems*. Pp. ix, 114. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1951. \$2.50.

This little book presents a clear if brief analysis of British colonial administration, but when it attempts to do the same with that of the Soviets it breaks down. It could not well be otherwise in view of the scarcity of information as to what is taking place in Central Asia. Miss Stahl allots but thirty-five pages to the Russian side of her picture, and the scanty material which she does use consists largely of extracts from Stalin's writings and from the Soviet constitution, all of which we have learned by experience is of dubious value. About the only contrast between the British and the Soviet system that is valid is that the former tends to move more and more toward decentralization and greater autonomy, whereas the reverse is true of the latter.

The most useful part of this book has to do with the British Empire and Commonwealth, the framework of which is described with accuracy and in considerable detail, particularly as concerns the thirty-five Crown Colonies, protectorates and areas for which Britain acts as trustee.

The thirty-five are in various stages of development, and all are headed hopefully in the direction of home rule and perhaps ultimate dominion status. Thus, in the various Crown Colonies in the governor's executive council "the proportion of unofficial members in relation to that of official members is increasing,"—a fact also true of the legislative councils which are gaining more and more power as the electorate is enlarged. "Imperial control over colonial government is primarily negative in character and operation." Governors appointed by Whitehall still retain veto powers but seldom use them. About 96 per cent of the civil servants in these dependent areas now are native born, and even in the higher echelons of the colonial service the appointment of Africans and Asians is becoming more and more frequent. The constitutional convention which drew up the new constitution of the Gold Coast consisted entirely of Africans and was

presided over by an African judge. In Malaya, the West Indies, and East Africa progress in self-government is the rule rather than the exception.

Meanwhile, British interest in the dependent empire is steadily rising. Both the Conservative and Labor parties have standing committees engaged in research on colonial problems, and the hard-pressed British treasury is providing out of its slender resources considerable sums as grants in aid. In both West and East Africa new dominions are now clearly foreshadowed.

WALTER P. HALL

Princeton University

MITCHELL, SYDNEY KNOX. *Taxation in Medieval England*. Edited by Sidney Painter. Yale Historical Publications, Studies, XV. Pp. 413. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951. \$5.00.

When Sydney Knox Mitchell died suddenly in 1948, he left a manuscript upon which he had been working for a long time. It has now been edited by his friend Professor Sidney Painter in the volume under review. Professor Painter has carefully respected the original text; missing references have been supplied and notes recast in a consistent form, but only minor corrections have been made. A posthumous work could hardly fail to leave something to be desired; in this case, perhaps, a concluding section that Professor Mitchell would doubtless have given us had he been spared to complete his work.

Professor Mitchell made his first contribution to scholarship in 1914 with his *Studies in Taxation Under John and Henry III*. The present work might at first sight appear to be second edition of the older one, even though the reigns of Henry II and Richard I have been included. Some of the same problems are necessarily dealt with, but *Taxation in Medieval England* is an entirely new book. The amount of fresh material drawn largely from unpublished sources is immense. The point of view adopted is likewise quite different. Topical in arrangement instead of chronological, the work is less a technical study of taxes than an examination of the significance of taxation and of the methods

of assessment, authorization, and collection employed therein, for the evolution of twelfth—and thirteenth-century administration.

Difficult as it may be for us to conceive of it, taxation was a new condition for the society of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. And, because the men of that age had no definite notion regarding the sources of taxation that could be profitably exploited, there was initiated a struggle between the taxpayer and the state over this question. In the first place, taxes were not strictly owed; with every successive repetition, nevertheless, they tended to become obligatory, hence the persistent opposition. By the close of the reign of Henry III, a solution had been found. It was the tax on movables, which came to be the normal tax and the basis of all future developments.

Professor Mitchell's book covers precisely this period, when society was adjusting itself to a new condition. The definite and striking changes that took place affected the administrative organization, the character of taxation, and the structure and power of the government. None of these changes was anticipated or planned; they grew out of the necessity of adjusting the government to new conditions which it faced.

It was found necessary, for example, to create a central body, a branch of the exchequer, to administer the receipt of and sometimes audit the new levy. The change was not permanent, but the experience acquired in the handling of unusual sums of money probably led to the expansion of the exchequer under Edward I so that it was able to take over this work.

It was also discovered that the existing methods of assessing and collecting revenue were inadequate for the new levy, and a new organization was devised which was a modification of the conventional *missi*. To maintain movable property as the basis of the tax, and with an adequate valuation, was the most arduous task and was not wholly successful, but the attempt led to a great change from the conventionalization that marked all preceding levies.

Authorization is an aspect of the problem which is more familiar because of its connection with the origins of Parliament. The earliest authorization for the new levies was given by the Curia Regis; and this continued to be the case as the aid on movables became more predominant and more frequent, but there is a change in the nature of the consent as it takes on a corporate character, the consent of the present binding the absent, and the majority binding the minority.

The depth of Professor Mitchell's historical insight and the breadth of his perspective make of his book more than a technical treatise on taxation; it will be of interest to all students of medieval England.

G. B. FLAHIFF

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
Toronto, Canada

AMERY, JULIAN. *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain*. Vol. IV: "1901-1903: At the Height of His Power." Pp. 533. London: MacMillan and Company (distributed in the U. S. by the MacMillan Company), 1951. \$4.50.

Mr. Julian Amery has assumed the task of completing the biography of Joseph Chamberlain left unfinished by the late J. L. Garvin. The third of Garvin's massive volumes, published in 1934, carried the story till the end of the nineteenth century. The one under review ends in February, 1903. Of necessity some of the topics handled by Mr. Emery start in the mid-nineties. Still, in the main he is concerned only with the activities of Chamberlain in the years 1901 and 1902.

These years were crowded with significant actions in British domestic and imperial affairs. Joseph Chamberlain was then at the height of his power—the most dynamic personality in the government headed by Lord Salisbury. Mr. Amery has had full use of the Chamberlain papers and of confidential government documents. He has secured information and advice from members of the Chamberlain family and from persons like his father, Mr. L. S. Amery, who knew Joseph Chamberlain quite well.

As might be expected, the author gives much space to the war, the peace negotia-

tions; and the reconstruction in South Africa. New light is shed on these problems, more particularly on the relations between Chamberlain and Milner. Among general imperial topics, the work of the 1902 colonial conference, the West Indian sugar question, and Chamberlain's colonial development and welfare programs deserve special mention. The section which deals with the Anglo-German negotiations, September 1900–February 1902, is disappointing. Apparently the Chamberlain papers contain little new information on that subject. On the other hand they have interesting items on negotiations leading to the formation of the Anglo-French entente.

Mr. Amery defends Chamberlain's stand on Irish home rule and seeks to explain his waning interest in old age pension and his support of the Education Act of 1902 which conflicted with his earlier views on this issue. In the discussion of imperial affairs, Mr. Amery shows a lack of an intimate knowledge of this vast subject. His Conservative bias stands out quite clearly. But his story is well organized and clearly told. It calls to mind an era which now seems both strange and very remote.

PAUL KNAPLUND

University of Wisconsin

HAYEK, F. A. *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their Friendship and Subsequent Marriage*. Pp. 320. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951. \$4.50.

In this work Professor Hayek has collected and edited the correspondence passing between Mill and the woman who, after many years of friendship, became his wife. He has edited the letters, largely found at Yale University Library, added copious notes, and introduced secondary evidence on their relationship, their characters, and their intellectual collaboration.

The editing has a purpose: to throw light on the extent of Mill's intellectual obligation to the woman to whom he ascribed "joint production" of his *Political Economy* and other works, and to whom he dedicated his *Political Economy* alleging he had first learned from her his

ideas on social improvement. The blurb goes so far as to say that "Mill's description of Harriet Taylor is not exaggerated," and that here is direct evidence to prove it.

Any evidence that throws a light on an influential philosopher's spiritual evolution is of interest to the world, and so we may be grateful for the additional insights furnished, not least on Mill's interest in music; his thoughts on life and death when he was told by his doctor he had not long to live (he lasted for many years longer!); his cold, indeed callous estrangement from his mother and sisters; life at the India Office; estimates of various contemporaries; and his own philosophic self-doubt.

But whether the main question is cleared up is extremely debatable. A few letters do, indeed, show that Mrs. Taylor made suggestions of ideas and theories and policies to Mill, and that he welcomed them. But they are inconclusive as to anything of importance. There is discernible a desire on the part of the editor to show that such "socialism" as appears in Mill's economic theory is due to his wife's influence.

The suggestion is neither supportable nor destructible by the evidence presented. The letters have been edited, it is true not for thought-suppression, but to prune away the intimately personal. But at critical times there are great voids in the correspondence, as between 1840 to 1847.

If the direct evidence is tenuous and incomplete, we are obliged to fall back on other grounds of judgment of probability. This is when the nature of their intimacy attains crucial importance. What do we know?

Mill could not abide his father, mother, sisters, and brother. He knew no warmth of love till he met the very beautiful young Mrs. Taylor. She loved him deeply, romantically, and possessively. She was a luscious and *highly opinionated* Victorian blue-stocking, and of such there were thousands in her England, except that most were unattractive, sex-frustrated frumps. She wrote rationalist and feminist articles and poems. The few samples given in this work demonstrate their poor, adolescent quality, at an age when, if she

was anything like Mill swore she was, she would have shown talent, not conventional puerility of mind. She never ceased flattering Mill, who hungered for beauty, affection, assurance, and praise.

The understanding of romantic love of this kind is a key to the understanding of what a man like Mill would do with the ideas presented to him by the one he loved and who showed that she loved him. He may have had the ideas in his own mind before she spoke. He may have already given them to her, and then received them back from her, with the added significance of coming from someone else when she rendered them to him. But (a) they would receive importance and consideration because she had mentioned them, and (b) the outflow of his gratitude might even come from his surprise that she, so lovely, shared his thoughts.

The relationship is rather like that between Mill's contemporary, August Comte, deprived of love all his life, and Clothilde de Vaux. Comte was bowled over also. He gave gratitude for love in the form of intellectual acknowledgement. This view of Mill-Taylor is borne out by the fact that when, on the death of Mr. Mill, Mill's home was tended by Mrs. Taylor's daughter Helen, Mill apostrophized the daughter as extravagantly as he did the mother, though the correspondence shows that the girl was far from possessing even a mind that we should grade as a B average.

The verdict must still be "Not proven!" We must be very careful then to avoid the conclusion that Mill's "socialism" stems from an erotic source; or, if it did, that this would be a sin against *laissez faire*, on the basis that men unaffected by women would be vigorously *laissez faire*; or that it is wrong that men should be affected by the minds or characters of women—the human race has two sexes, and human nature will not be somehow restored to purity of doctrine by the wishing away of one of them.

What is not clear from the letters, and what is material, is whether Mill and Mrs. Taylor had adulterous relations in the long years of their friendship, when they travelled abroad for long periods unchaperoned. I incline to the view that we

should have been given everything that is extant. The truth of nature that is immanent in a blob of penicillin was discovered by accident when the mould was observed, and not excised by an editor. And Karl Marx excluded a vital truth from the theory of value by ignoring the value of a diamond as "an exception."

HERMAN FINER

University of Chicago

SCHUTZ, JOHN A. *Thomas Pownall, British Defender of American Liberty: A Study of Anglo-American Relations in the Eighteenth Century.* Pp. 342. Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1951. \$10.00.

Thomas Pownall was an obscure young Englishman when he came to America in 1753 as secretary of the governor of New York. While he was a student at Cambridge, where his family's financial resources were barely sufficient to support him, his younger brother John got a clerkship in the Board of Trade and began his rapid rise in the civil service. On graduating from the university, Thomas took a post under John to train himself for a political career in colonial administration. His apprenticeship taught him the need for drastic reform. Seeing little chance of breaking into the oligarchic monopoly of power at home, he turned to climb the ladder in America. The first rung broke almost as soon as he mounted it. He had not been in New York a week when the suicide of his chief left him without any position.

Undaunted by this misfortune, Pownall somehow managed to travel up and down the colonies, assiduously improving his already considerable knowledge of them and cultivating the friendship of prominent men who might help him up. His ascent is amazing. In 1757, at the age of thirty-five, he was appointed governor of Massachusetts in succession to Shirley, whom he had helped to remove. After ably piloting the province through the difficult war years, he declined further service in America, not because he disliked the colonies but because he thought he could do more for them and the mother country by returning home and shaping public

policy to solve the imperial problem that loomed ahead. He was confident that the knowledge and experience he had gained in America would win for him a position of authority in England. With this in view, he produced his famous *Administration of the Colonies*, first as a pamphlet of 131 pages and later as a substantial two-volume work; and he secured a seat in Parliament, where he raised his voice on behalf of colonial liberty. But no ministry would invite him to join them or even hearken to his advice. His opinions were too independent; he was not an effective speaker in the House; and his written style was so difficult that it was reputed to have given many a headache to his readers.

Historians have repeatedly lamented the lack of an adequate biography of Governor Pownall. His life by C. A. W. Pownall, which appeared in 1908, was based on little source material. But Mr. Schutz's is built upon extensive research in private and public repositories and is a solid piece of scholarship containing few flaws except in the actual writing, which is sometimes irritatingly careless.

A. L. BURT

University of Minnesota

SLAVIC COUNTRIES

HERLING, ALBERT KONRAD. *The Soviet Slave Empire*. Pp. xx, 230. New York: Wilfred Funk, 1951. \$3.75.

Forced labor in a form which deserves to be designated as slave labor exists in all Communist-dominated countries. If there is still a need to prove this, the necessary and sufficient evidence can be found in A. K. Herling's *The Soviet Slave Empire*. Based mainly on the hearings before the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor (initiated by the Workers' Defense League), the book is largely a collection of well-selected witness reports about forced labor in the Soviet Union, the Baltic States, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Eastern Germany. The authenticity of the reports is indicated by the fact that the reliability of the witnesses has been established beyond doubt.

The first chapter shows that as early as 1927-28 "the idea of forced labor became part of the Soviets' Penal Procedure" and that the characteristic trait of a slave labor system became more pronounced with the passage of time.

Two quotations from the reports illustrate this assertion: A report of a camp near the Pechora River states "the principal incentive used by the MVD builders is hunger, not wages or force. . . . The amount of work performed determines the amount of food that a prisoner receives. . . . Those who refuse to work are put in solitary confinement and receive minimum rations" (p. 15). Regarding another camp it is stated that "anybody who expressed an opinion that his work was too hard, or made any other complaint, was liable to be taken into the forest by the guards and shot, their disappearance being explained by saying that they had tried to get away" (p. 25).

Valuable as are the reliable descriptions of concrete facts, the book has its weak points, particularly the uncritical reproduction of some grossly exaggerated estimates of the number of "slaves" in the Soviet Union and of the economic importance of the slave labor system. For the author "there is no doubt that in the last decade the prison camps and forced labor camps have had a minimum of eight million workers, and at various times a maximum of twenty million." The available substantial evidence suggests much more conservative figures. Also, according to the author, "new construction projects alone are estimated to require at least ten million forced laborers." The work on new construction is characterized by the highest degree of mechanization, and the whole number of workers employed will hardly reach even one million. A very large number of highly skilled workers, of Stakhanovites, and, for propaganda purposes, of party and Comsomol members are employed; this would seem to preclude the possibility of a large use of forced labor.

Fortunately, these shortcomings take only a small place in an otherwise very useful book.

GEORGE DENICKE

Washington, D. C.

Soviet State Plan for 1941 (Supplements to the Decision of the SNK USSR and TsK VKP(b) N 127 of January 17, 1941), American Council of Learned Societies reprints, Russian Series N. 30. Pp. 746. In Russian. Baltimore: Universal Press, 1951. \$12.00.

Everyone wanting to study the Soviet economy thoroughly must be greatly thankful to the American Council of Learned Societies for the reproduction of the so-called Soviet 1941 Plan (actually only statistical supplements to the plan are involved) and, moreover, everybody familiar with the Russian language must own a copy. Library study of this volume of 746 pages will rarely prove enough.

In due time this all-important document was released in the U.S.S.R. with the warning on each table "not to be disclosed." Unfortunately it was so treated in this country for some time. Access was permitted almost exclusively to those who were unable to make proper use of it.

In a monograph devoted to the Soviet price system and a paper analyzing the labor in concentration camps this reviewer made extensive use of the material in the volume. Yet he has used only a fraction of the wealth contained in it. He intends to give it several additional goings-over after he comes into possession of a copy of his own.

The all-important indexes of national income, industrial production, and labor productivity showing fabulous successes of the Soviet planned economy are, or at least were until 1949, based on "unchangeable 1926-27 prices." The phony nature of these prices and the manipulated character of the indexes in them had been clear to a few even before the 1941 Plan became available. The data of the 1941 Plan on industrial production and its production costs in 1941 prices make this obvious to anyone who will take the trouble of comparing these data with the value of the same output in "unchangeable 1926-27 prices." The 1941 Plan wrestles this implement of world-wide propaganda from the Soviets.

The Soviet sources use for comparisons with postwar phenomena the data of 1940 as the basis, although the year was

one of feverish preparation for war, with private consumption cut substantially below the level of the preceeding year and several other abnormalities. In a misleading way, 1940 is even commonly referred to as "the prewar 1940 year" in Soviet sources. A further important drawback of the official statistics of this year is that they covered the newly acquired territories to a greatly varying extent, and thus each comparison is between 1940 data for a smaller territory and, say, 1950 data for a larger territory. On top of this, it is the custom of Soviet sources to be discretely silent on the territory to which the 1940 figures used for the comparison pertain. The 1941 Plan unfortunately does not provide data for 1940. Still, the territorial coverage of the 1941 goals permits some conclusions as to the territory covered by the usual official 1940 data.

The evidence of the Soviet concentration camps normally comes from former inmates who are in no position to know the total number of inmates in the camps and naturally are inclined to exaggeration. Such figures as eight, ten, fifteen, and even twenty million persons in the camps are cited. The 1941 Plan permits glances also in the direction of this horrible institution. It does not state the number of inmates, but it provides information on the economic activities planned for the NKVD (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs), and from this data rough estimations of the numbers of inmates involved can be made.

The first mentioned item, the light the 1941 Plan throws on the fake "unchangeable 1926-27 prices," alone makes the volume invaluable. The evidence on concentration camps is likewise of great interest, if only to show the world of difference between evidence and estimates. (The evidence of the 1941 Plan points to fewer than half as many inmates in concentration camps as in the lowest common estimate.) However, the three mentioned problems for which the 1941 Plan is helpful, are only those for which this reviewer primarily used its evidence. There is an almost endless number of others, for the clarification of which the material in the 1941 Plan is helpful.

While the document was marked "not to be disclosed," several items such as the data on output of gold, nonferrous metals, and rubber were not covered in it. They were considered even greater secrets than the activities of the NKVD, and were incorporated in a special secret attachment or attachments, which are no part of the released volume.

NAUM JASNY

Washington, D. C.

WESTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE

SCHMIDT, PAUL. *Hitler's Interpreter*. Edited by R. H. C. Steed. Pp. 286. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. \$4.00.

Dr. Paul Schmidt, with his great flair for the deeper meaning of words and his extraordinary linguistic talents, should have been the first to realize that the English title of his book *Hitler's Interpreter* would expose its greatest weakness. It shows that, while he was eminently suited to translate Hitler's words, he remained an "interpreter" only in the narrowest sense. He joined the Language Division of the German Foreign Office in 1923 and found himself in a world of diplomatic notes, of memoranda and treaties, on which, we hoped, a new German, a new Europe, a new and better world might have been built.

By the time Dr. Schmidt appeared more prominently on the stage of international diplomacy and had become a familiar figure behind a succession of German statesmen, most of these notes, memoranda and treaties had been reduced to "scraps of paper." Angry verbal exchanges, futile conferences replaced the more graceful traditional diplomatic routine. Dr. Schmidt seemed unaffected by these changes. Proudly unpolitical, keeping his views (if any) to himself, he served Hitler as faithfully as he had served his predecessors (and what a pity it is that the first part of his memoirs dealing with Germany's pre-Hitler history has been omitted from the American edition of his book).

At one stage of his narrative he describes the visit which Japan's foreign minister, Mr. Matsuoka, paid to Hermann Göring at Karinhall in 1941: "Do you know that abroad they say that he [Göring] is mad?" Matsuoka asked Mr. Schmidt, adding a little later, "There are many people in Japan who say . . . 'Matsuoka is crazy!'"

It was indeed a crazy set-up into which Dr. Schmidt affords us an intimate insight. He records it with studied, colorless sweet reasonableness which would have been more impressive had he not risen to it only after the event. There is little evidence that Dr. Schmidt was just the "enlightened cosmopolitan German nationalist" as his editor, Mr. R. H. C. Steed, describes him in the introduction. An inflection here, an addition or omission there reveal a surprisingly wide area of agreement with his last German masters, tempered only by *post festum* admissions that he (and they) might have been wrong.

From his account there emerge once more the now-familiar figures of the Nazi government and those who tried to reason with them. Chamberlain and Eden, Molotov and Ciano, the satellite rulers people these pages. We watch them in Hitler's study, hear them at conferences in Berlin or wherever his duties took Dr. Schmidt. To the well-known facts, which we know from the perusal of many other sources, from official documents and the host of memoirs which illuminate the history of the vital ten years under review, Dr. Schmidt adds many interesting snippets and sidelights. Although his account does not quite live up to the subtitle "The Secret History of German Diplomacy 1935-1945" it should be read by all students of the peculiar brand of diplomacy practiced by the Nazis and likely to be emulated by other dictatorships.

Dr. Schmidt's diplomatic career came to an end when he was captured by the United States Counter-Intelligence Corps in Salzburg in 1945 (but his services, we are told, were utilized by the U. S. occupation forces during the Nuuremberg trials). He might, Mr. Steed says, perhaps even more aptly, be described as "Stresemann's Interpreter." We should know more about

the shape of things to come if we could correctly guess for whom Dr. Schmidt is going to interpret in the future.

WILLI FRISCHAUER

London, England

PLISCHKE, ELMER, with the assistance of H. J. HILLE. *History of the Allied High Commission for Germany, Its Establishment, Structure, and Procedures*. Research Project No. 107 of the Allied High Commission for Germany. Pp. v, 122. Published: Office of the U. S. High Commission for Germany, APO 757-A, c/o PM, NYC, 1951. No Price.

The development of Germany's political structure has been in a state of constant flux since 1945, particularly in relation to the various forms and phases of Allied military government. The student of contemporary German government and politics finds it none too easy to locate the essential facts and documents, and depends, to a large extent, on the publications of Allied authorities in Germany for basic orientation. Plischke's *History of the Allied High Commission for Germany* is the first of a series of studies written under the auspices of the Historical Division of the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany, and future studies will deal with the revision of the Occupation Statute, the relations between the Allied High Commission and the German federal government, and similar subjects.

The first chapter provides the background of the establishment of the Allied High Commission, starting out with the London Deputy Foreign Ministers' Conference (February 23 to June 2, 1948) and ending with the Foreign Ministers' Conferences of Washington (April 1949) and Paris (May 23 to June 20, 1949). The record of these conferences shows that the movement toward integration of the American, British, and French Zones of Occupation into one unit was largely the product of American initiative and leadership. The second chapter outlines the establishment of the Allied High Commission in May 1949, paralleled by the setting up of a German government shortly thereafter. Chapters III and IV describe the commit-

tee structure of the Allied High Commission and the Allied General Secretariat; procedures are described in full detail, including, for example, the information that "most committee meetings are preceded by the serving of coffee, tea, and other refreshments" (pp. 74-75). The sixth (and last substantive) chapter covers the relations of the High Commission with the German Government and with foreign powers, and includes data not conveniently assembled elsewhere. The value of the study is greatly enhanced by the reprinting of important documents (Occupation Statute, organization charts, and others) in the appendix.

WILLIAM EBENSTEIN

Princeton University

MILLER, JANE KATHRYN. *Belgian Foreign Policy Between Two Wars, 1919-1940*. Pp. 337. New York: Bookman Associates, 1951. \$5.00.

For the scholar and statesman, *Belgian Foreign Policy* is a useful study, but for the average reader it must be virtually incomprehensible. A background chapter attempts to set the stage, but when the chief actor (Belgium) enters, the stage is bare of scenery, and the reader has to suffer through a maze of statistics, negotiations, and crises never tied to the full diplomatic story of the interwar period. It may be that Miss Miller's book is a condensation of a larger work, but as it stands it is more of a footnote than a chapter in the diplomatic history of interwar Europe. Almost no effort is made to place Belgium in its proper place in the diplomacy of the day, and the author has presumed a knowledge on the part of her readers that few are likely to have.

Although Miss Miller comments in her preface that Belgium's shift in policy from co-operation with the Allies of 1918 to a completely independent policy had "disastrous" results, she later (p. 259) describes the same shift as "not a blunder." She justifies the latter comment by relating the immediate effects of Leopold's new policy (the Franco-British-German pledges and the closer union of Walloons and Flemings), but not three lines later she re-

fers to that May 10, 1940 which "proved" the impossibility of such a policy for Belgium. I find these statements hard to reconcile.

Occasional but no serious errors of fact occur. In referring to the French Revolution of 1789, the author contends that Belgium followed the French pattern; she makes the same mistakes that Desmoulins had made in 1789. Her interpretation of the importance of Belgium's actions in 1914 is also somewhat outmoded, and I suspect that her reference (p. 131) to Belgium as Poincaré's "satellite" is a misstatement. Her offhand description of Albert's death is also hard to explain.

Despite these faults, *Belgian Foreign Policy* is an excellent volume, with a voluminous bibliography, useful footnotes, and a good appendix, although the flow of the story is sometimes marred by the absence of maps and an excessive number of printing errors. Scattered through the book are passages of rare interest and even brilliance, but taken as a whole the book is scholarly dull, especially the accounts of ministerial crises, reparations, and war debts. The later chapters, telling the story of the new "independent" foreign policy and of the invasion and surrender of Belgium, are fascinating.

R. T. TURNER

Montana State University

STRODE, HUDSON. *Denmark Is a Lovely Land*. Pp. xi, 304. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1951. \$4.75.

Travel guides as a class belong to a most ephemeral species of literature. They have appeared in many variants and guises for at least 2,000 years. Among the best known—and the least ephemeral—of ancient descriptive guides is Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, written in the second century of our era. The declared aim of Pausanias was to present "the most famous of the Athenian traditions and sights," and to select from the mass of materials "the really notable." It was his way of saying that topographical features should be seen in their historical setting. Superficial descriptions of man-made phenomena are quite useless until man's mem-

ory—history—is levied on to give them perspective depth.

It is, therefore, refreshing to find that a seasoned and observing traveller, Hudson Strode, has produced a book on contemporary Denmark that gives vivid glimpses of land and people, and with these, salient bits of historical information to throw the topics discussed into their proper perspective. *Denmark is a Lovely Land* owes its title to the famous national song by Adam Oehlenschläger. The author's prefatory statements that "What Denmark has achieved for herself is out of all proportion to her tiny size," and "Implicit in Danish democracy is the conception of the independence and nobility of the individual," indicate his approach.

The large number of buildings surviving to bear witness to the restless energy of the royal "architect," Christian IV—structures ranging from his seamen's housing project, the *Nyboder*, to Rosenborg castle—receive deserved attention, as do many other distinguished buildings, museums, promenades, bits of charming coast line, the chalk cliffs of Mön, and physical and architectural scenes from Zealand, Fyn, and nearby islands, and the Jutland mainland.

He included in his itinerary visits to a few estates belonging to Danish noblemen to which ordinary tourists would scarcely have access, and he dwells on the success achieved by them in improving the yield of milk cows. But of the small farmers whose industry and intelligence have made Danish dairy products, bacon and eggs, famous abroad for their uniform quality, the reader gets but faint glimpses. However, the co-operatives which process and distribute these products, and the rural co-operative stores run on the Rochdale plan, are given generous space, as are the Danish folk high schools, which have become models for many similar schools throughout northern Europe.

The proletarian novelist, Martin Andersen Nexø, author of *Pelle the Conqueror*, is discussed by way of introduction to Denmark's social legislation that dates largely from the Social Democratic ministry of Thorvald Stauning. Here are brief answers as to how Denmark has solved the

problem of sickness insurance for all without either endangering the economy of the state or ruining the poor but innocent victim of a disastrously long illness; how children are cared for from the prenatal stage through their school years; how the aged are given adequate shelter in the Old People's Town in Copenhagen; how the state encourages vacations in the country and on the farms for urban children.

For the reader familiar with Isak Dinesen's (pseudonym for Baroness Karen Blixen) *Out of Africa and Seven Gothic Tales*, the "Portrait of a Danish Writer" will be rewarding. Apropos a recently suggested idea of Bernard De Voto, is this another case of prolonged stay abroad providing latent literary talent with the needed impetus for self-expression?

A few errors in this otherwise excellent book should be noted for correction in a new edition, should one appear. To say that Christian IV's bourse is "the world's oldest market exchange" (p. 54) is misleading. At least seven such exchanges were established from the early sixteenth century down to 1608—at Bruges, Antwerp, Lyon, Toulouse, Hamburg, London, and Amsterdam. The English bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 (p. 215) occurred two years after Lord Nelson's death at Trafalgar. Nelson bombarded the city on April 2, 1801. Canute (p. 152) is called the "Great" because of his rule of England, not because he was "this greatest of Denmark's kings." As a preparation for a visit to Denmark or for later reflection after such a visit, this book is to be warmly recommended.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD

University of California
Los Angeles, California

PURYEAR, VERNON J. *Napoleon and the Dardanelles*. Pp. 437. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951. \$5.00.

Napoleon and the Dardanelles—I do not think that this title does justice to the wide range of events the book covers. Dr. Puryear's subject is the whole "Eastern Question" in the Napoleonic Era. In any case you cannot divorce the Dardanelles or the Turkish Straits, as they have come

to be more commonly known today, from the problems of the Near and the Middle East or as events have proved once again from the political problems of the European Continent.

For serious students of international events, this is a very timely publication. Take out the dates, efface the names, you will find that the problems Dr. Puryear brings to our notice are as fresh as the events of the last ten years. Take, for example, Napoleon's negotiations with the Czar concerning their mutual interests in Ottoman Turkey and in Persia. Dr. Puryear suggests that the final break between the two "would-be masters" of Europe came on this issue. The Nürnberg trials have proved that in the attempt at division of the world between Hitlerite Germany and Soviet Russia, once again the final break came about over the geographic area around Turkey. A more significant parallel in history would be hard to find. For this indicates that atomic age or not, the land mass between the three continents and three seas is of crucial importance in any attempt to intercontinental mastery. Turkey, because of her key position in this area, strengthened by her historical experience in nationhood, is bound to play a major role in any event involving the whole of Europe. Those who seek the true significance of Turkey's incorporation into the Atlantic Defense System will find the answer in Dr. Puryear's narration of another attempt at global domination.

There is abundant material here for students of Ottoman Turkey. The commercial rivalries between France and Britain in Egypt, the diplomatic intrigues in Istanbul, which were meant to undermine the power of one and against the other but which instead ended with undermining the power of the Ottomans to the profit of the third power in the North, are vividly illustrated.

In these days of great controversy about imperialism these events ought to inspire international co-operation. The big should understand that self-seeking intrigues against each other profit only a third party and the small should know that to play the big against one another ends up with the

small losing their independence and integrity completely.

The book is well documented. Dr. Puryear, the painstaking scholar, has dug well in the archives of the French Foreign Office. But in a scholarly book like this one would have expected a more balanced study of the problem. The author has not gone into the Turkish archives, and this seems to me a deficiency. Take, for example, the incident concerning Napoleon's title. Dr. Puryear tells in detail how relations between France and the Ottoman Turkish Empire were strained because the Ottoman Court would not accord the title of padishah to Napoleon, and he suggests that this problem of protocol made a mountain out of a molehill. For those who know their Ottoman Turkish history this explanation sounds very naïve because in this incident seemingly revolving around a title one finds the core of all the political problems between France and Turkey at the time. But this deficiency, unfortunately, is common to all the books on Ottoman History. Only in the last ten years have scholars begun to dig into Turkish archives: The impact of Turkey on Europe as viewed from the Turkish side of the fence has yet to be written. In the United States Princeton University was among the first to recognize this deficiency, and it has already produced a number of outstanding Turkish scholars. Columbia University with its new Middle Eastern Institute will be a great contributor in the field.

I would recommend Dr. Puryear's *Napoleon and the Dardanelles* not only to those with a historical interest but to every one actively interested in current international affairs. The problems it deals with are timeless—until man learns to treat other peoples and countries as he would like to have his own people and country treated.

NURI EREN

Turkish Information Office
New York City

HERMENS, FERDINAND A. *Europe Between Democracy and Anarchy*. Pp. xix, 291. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1951. \$4.00.

In the recent British elections the Labour party polled more votes and a higher percentage of the votes than it had the time before. It also polled more votes than any other party. Yet it lost the absolute majority in the House of Commons it had won on a minority vote at the previous election, and its Conservative rivals were given an absolute majority instead.

Thus are the fortunes of nations fashioned by the vagaries of an election system which makes results dependent not merely on numbers of votes but on where the votes are cast and on the number of candidates among whom the votes are divided. The Labour party was given control before a majority of the British people were ready for its far-reaching program of socialization. But when that program gained new recruits and the general conduct of the Labour party in office brought increased popularity, the party was thrown out of power, and its slightly less popular rivals were given power to undo as much of its work as they pleased.

Such distortions of popular wishes seem of minor consequence to Professor Hermens, arch-crusader against proportional or accurate representation. He would prefer to see the largest party come out on top and even suggests (p. 19) that the British Labour party would have been justified in some deliberate gerrymandering to compensate for the wastage of its votes in the districts where it has top-heavy majorities. But the most important thing in his mind is not who governs but that someone shall be in position to govern. He is obsessed with the idea that some party or group must be able to enact its whole program expeditiously, whether the people like the whole program or not. If the people sufficiently dislike parts of it, their recourse should be to rise up and throw the rascals out at the next election, thereby giving some other group unlimited power to do as it will. The thing to be avoided at all costs is a situation where there is no constant parliamentary majority but different majorities on different issues, in

the legislative body as among the people themselves.

The title of the book is revealing. Democracy is thought of not as the opposite of dictatorship but as the opposite of anarchy. The emphasis in "rule of the people" is not on "the people" but on "rule." Some distortion of the popular will is regarded as endurable and even desirable in the interests of strong government; but any difficulty in steering the course of government, even in the interest of reflecting more accurately the people's wishes, is to be avoided like the plague. For, just outside the door of parliament lurks the man on horseback ready to ride over if there is any indecision.

Like most of Professor Hermans' writings this book is devoted largely to special pleadings against proportional representation. His thesis is that if you let minorities get their own separate spokesmen in a legislative body in proportion to their numbers, you will be likely to get a conglomerate of discordant elements in which no one party will have a majority to enact its program and in which no group of parties can be found in sufficient agreement to govern without constant turmoil. As a result the people may turn to dictatorship in disgust. If, on the other hand, you have a plurality system of election which gives all the representation in each district to the largest group, people will be forced to forego the preferences which divide them differently on many issues and to choose between the two parties which appear to have the best chance of success. Since the mass of people are not extremists, any party attracting the mass support necessary to win will be forced to be moderate, and extremists of all kinds will tend to be frozen out. The result will be a strong government not too far off center, whichever side wins.

In pursuit of this thesis Professor Hermans scans the whole European scene, and even takes short excursions into Israel, Japan, India, and the United States. Wherever he finds difficulties in a country using proportional representation (P.R.), he bears down on the contribution of ac-

curate representation to the difficulties and speculates on the wholesome effects of a suitable distortion. Wherever he finds things working reasonably well under P.R., as in Ireland, Italy since the war, the Scandinavian countries, Finland, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, he ascribes the success to other factors and gravely shakes his head at portents of future disaster. Conversely he sings the praises of plurality of majority governments in Britain, the United States, and elsewhere and minimizes their difficulties. Where he finds really serious difficulties, as in France before its adoption of P.R. at the end of World War II, he seeks explanations other than the electoral system or blames variations from the straight plurality pattern.

The book contains a vast amount of interesting material. Viewed through glasses of a different color from the author's, much of it supports the feasibility of accurate representation and of making suitable adjustments in government machinery to let people say and get what they really want. Many of the untoward effects he ascribes to proportional systems are not due to proportionality at all, but to the shortcomings of the European party list forms of P.R., which entrench party organization and deny the voters the freedom of choice among individual candidates they enjoy in Hare system P.R. elections in Ireland, Australia, Canada, and the United States. Professor Hermans is an honest and sincere man who makes some careless misstatements but does not deliberately mislead his readers and tries to face all the facts. Consequently if you take all his concessions which he tries to explain away, you have quite a mass of evidence against him.

The one thing he does not do, and never has done, is to explore seriously the possibilities of making real democracy work—not a democracy which forces people to forget many of their real desires and make a choice of evils, but a democracy which invites an honest expression from everybody and condenses the electorate into its chosen leaders in the right proportions to form a body as accurately representative as the old New England town meeting.

There is plenty of evidence, in this book and elsewhere, to indicate that people would often prefer to be represented by a large and powerful party if they can find one to their liking rather than by a small splinter party—for example, the two-party set-ups in Cincinnati and the Australian province of Tasmania, and the succession of stable governments in Ireland under the freest form of P.R., and the moderate one-party parliamentary majorities in Italy, Norway, and Sweden under somewhat inferior but still nearly proportional systems. And there are various expedients, mentioned but not given due credit by Professor Hermens, that have been tried successfully to make government function when no party has a majority—coalitions proceeding with the planks on which the governing parties agreed and not resigning if overruled on any but a major issue, minority center governments appealing first to the right and then to the left for known majorities on different issues, all-party governments formed on a more or less proportional basis and bringing forward proposals on which a majority agreed (sometimes with minority dissenting reports), nonpartisan executives ready to carry out on particular issues whatever a majority in parliament might decree. One-party governments have not always been the best governments, and other governments have sometimes given greater popular satisfaction.

Professor Hermens' is essentially a counsel of despair. That there are difficulties and dangers to be overcome in accurate self-government any reasonable person will agree. Professor Hermens thinks the difficulties are so great that we have to sacrifice accuracy and settle for a distorted strong government instead.

It may be doubted whether distortion is even the best way to get strong government. For despite debates and wrangles there is often a popular support of a completely representative legislative process such as exists in Ireland, Winnipeg, Calgary, Cincinnati, and Worcester that is frequently lacking in one-party-machine near-monopolies like those customary in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and the solid South. Be that as it may, the real

challenge of democracy is to do not just something but what the people want done.

GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

Citizens Union of the City of New York

OTHERS

WILGUS, A. CURTIS (Ed.). *The Caribbean at Mid-Century*. Pp. xxv, 284. Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1951. \$4.00.

This volume contains, besides a foreword by President J. Hillis Miller and an introduction by A. Curtis Wilgus, twenty lectures given at a conference held at the University of Florida early in December of 1950. As might be expected in volumes of this kind, the topics are of unequal importance and the treatment is of unequal length and value. Four of the speakers spread their discussion beyond the geographical region announced by the title and dealt with Pan-American relations. Aside from these, the major subjects discussed were economic, political, sociological, and literary.

All are presented in satisfactory style and with few typographical errors, and all well worth reading. The contributions which proved most interesting to this reviewer were those by Edward H. Miller, head of the Latin-American Division of the State Department; Harry F. Guggenheim, once United States Ambassador to Cuba; Wilson Popenoe, noted expert in tropical agriculture; Lowry Nelson, Minnesota sociologist just returned from a research sojourn in Cuba; Maynard Phelps, University of Michigan economist; John A. Crow, specialist in Latin-American literature; and J. Lloyd Mecham, political scientist from the University of Texas. The contributions by Nelson and Mecham, the first dealing with rural life in Cuba and the second presenting an appraisal of Mexico's recent revolution, seem to be the most scholarly. Crow's survey of Caribbean literature is couched in impressive language. He makes a persuasive plea for the study of literature as well as statistics.

J. FRED RIPPY

University of Chicago

ALEXANDER, ROBERT J. *The Perón Era*. Pp. x, 239. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. \$3.50.

This little volume contains a clear, straightforward, "blow-by-blow" account of the rise to power of Argentina's president-dictator, Juan Domingo Perón. A minimum of space (nine pages) is devoted to the background of Peronismo, and to a discussion of the factors that made possible the present dictatorship. When, however, the author moves into the current era, he really hits his stride. He includes chapters on each of the major factors in Argentine life, as affecting and affected by Perón. One chapter is entitled "Labor under Perón." Others deal with the army, the church, the universities, the great landowners and their workers. There is even a chapter devoted to Evita, the clever ex-radio actress who has "used her stylishness as a political weapon." Considerable space is devoted to Perón's economic policies and foreign relations, especially with the United States.

Perhaps the chief difficulty with this book is that it seems to aim at no particular group of readers. For the man in the street it seems to lack the flair of the professional journalist. There are no cleverly turned phrases to capture the imagination. Facts are presented simply as facts, with no attempt to emphasize the picturesque. But for the specialist the book has other defects. The story that it presents is already well known to students of Latin American affairs. Moreover, there is an almost complete lack of documentation. Footnotes are conspicuous by their absence, and the only bibliography is an inadequate "bibliographical note" at the end of the volume.

The weakest part of the book is probably the short and entirely unnecessary "postscriptum," which has apparently been added for the purpose of enabling the author to end with a flourish. The thesis of this final chapter is that Perón is a dangerous demagogue—which can readily be demonstrated; and that the United States should therefore ignore him as completely as possible. The book ends with these words: "Unless the United States is careful, she will one day wake up

to find a united front of totalitarian military dictatorships among the nations to the South, proudly headed and dominated by El Líder—Su Excelencia Señor Presidente de la República Argentina, General Juan Domingo Perón."

Now that is sheer nonsense, as the author of this book, who is an economist, ought to know. Economic factors have always been far more important than political ideologies in inter-American relations. Argentina was a leader of the anti-United States bloc, even in its democratic days, and the answer is to be found in beef and wheat. Dictators like Somoza and Trujillo have demonstrated their friendship for the United States, and will continue to do so as long as their welfare depends on such a course.

AUSTIN F. MACDONALD

University of California
Berkeley

THOMAS, LEWIS V. and RICHARD N. FRYE. *The United States and Turkey and Iran*. Pp. xii, 291. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (in "The American Foreign Policy Library," edited by Sumner Welles), 1951. \$4.25.

The latest volume published in the American Foreign Policy Library series is a very timely and important book. It is the work of two young students of the Middle East. Mr. Thomas, who teaches at Princeton, knows Turkey well and writes in the first half of the book on "the United States and Turkey," while Mr. Frye of Harvard, whose knowledge and understanding of Iran and the Iranians is remarkable, writes on "the United States and Iran" in the second half of the book.

In his part Mr. Thomas properly emphasizes the strategic importance of Turkey and of the Turks in the current bitter East-West rivalry. He stresses the role of the Turk as a rugged and brave fighter, as a friend of the West, and as such a definite asset on the side of democracies. His historical treatment is informative, but his inordinate liking for things Turkish blinds him to some of their shortcomings. He gives the impression of viewing every event as seen with the eye of an Atatürk or his successor. In this respect his por-

tion of the book would have gained considerably if he were half as critical of his Turks as he seems to be toward many who have known the Turks and have written about them.

In the opinion of this reviewer Mr. Frye's portion of the book is more balanced and better written. His historical sketch of Iran is just as detailed, but he never loses his critical sense. He knows modern Iran, with its tribes and minorities and numerous sects, exceedingly well, and he shows warm sympathy toward the Persians. His analysis and exposition of Iran's political, social, economic, and religious problems emphasize the mature judgment in this youthful teacher and writer.

Both Mr. Thomas and Mr. Frye treat our relations with each country rather briefly, devoting to them exactly fourteen pages in each case. They both add useful appendixes containing population and financial statistics, the fundamental laws of these countries, and lists of "suggested reading."

A. O. SARKISSIAN

Library of Congress
Washington, D. C.

PANKHURST, E. SYLVIA. *Ex-Italian Somaliland*. Pp. 460. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. \$7.50.

Comparatively little in English is written on those parts of Africa which are not or have not been under British rule. The voluminous Italian writings about their former holdings in the East African horn, including that part of Somaliland which they now govern under a United Nations trusteeship, have not been distinguished by their political objectivity.

E. Sylvia Pankhurst has assembled an enormous amount of material on the political development of Italian Somaliland with an emphasis on those years following the rapacious Italian invasion of Ethiopia down through the period of British military control and the beginning of Italian trusteeship. In the process, she touches intermittently upon administration, agriculture, physical geography, land tenure, treaties, and the difficulties of economic development. Unfortunately, for social

scientists, these thin slices of meat are sandwiched between large slabs of polemics.

Miss Pankhurst, editor of the *New Times and Ethiopia News*, makes a strong case for Ethiopian, or at least non-Italian, control of the territory, but many people who may agree with her conclusions will find her argument disorganized and emotional.

Politics or not, *Ex-Italian Somaliland* is an indispensable source for students of eastern Africa and for those concerned with the pros and cons of U.N. trusteeships.

EDWIN S. MUNGER

University of Chicago

MALCOLM, GEORGE A. *First Malayan Republic: The Story of the Philippines*. Pp. 460. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1951. \$5.00.

The author, a former justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, was in the Islands in various official capacities from 1906 to 1940, and he went back to Manila in 1948-49. His career spanned almost the whole period of American control, and he knew personally the leading Americans and Filipinos of the past half century. He was thus in an unusually favorable position for writing an account of the establishment of self-government. He has written a well documented history, which is based on his personal knowledge as well as on a careful study of other authorities on the Islands. It gives a clear picture of political, constitutional, military, and economic developments, and of the serious problems which face the young republic. Unlike many authoritative works it has an interesting and readable style, and it is enlivened by character sketches and appraisals of the leading actors on the Filipino political stage.

The most valuable part of the book describes the form of government in theory and—a somewhat different matter—in actual practice. The constitution adopted in 1935 was in general similar to its American model. It attempted to divide authority between the executive, the legislature, and the Supreme Court; but at the same time it conferred very extensive powers upon the first named. The re-

sult has been that "everyone realises that executive power in the person of the President outranks the other two powers," and that a forceful and ambitious leader like the late President Quézon can infringe the spirit if not the letter of the constitution. The author is careful to point out that this does not arouse the same reaction as in the United States, since "the psychology of the masses reacts more favorably to a government dominated by one person than to more democratic direction." Another reason for this popular acquiescence is that "the Philippine Government may in theory be one of laws, but in practice the Government is pretty much one of men."

The author frankly indicates the serious shortcomings in the government of the Republic; but he believes that it is as democratic as can reasonably be expected. This book can be recommended to anyone who wishes to understand the present situation in the Philippines.

LENNOX A. MILLS

University of Minnesota

GRUNDER, GAREL A., and WILLIAM E. LIVEZEY. *The Philippines and the United States*. Pp. xii, 315. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951. \$4.00.

This is a competent account of the political relations between the United States and the Philippines. Its authors have used official documents such as Congressional hearings and reports, as well as the rather scanty secondary literature. Apart from some purple patches (one of which appears on page 50 and in a diluted form on page 70) and some straining after literary allusion—as in the phrase "gilded over with the pale cast of goodwill and paternalism" (page 60)—the writing is clear and straightforward.

The story is told from the expedition which brought the Philippines under American control up to the achievement of independence. McKinley's hesitancy and Theodore Roosevelt's intransigence and the work of successive proconsuls are surveyed. Adequate emphasis is given to the economic pressures within the United States for getting rid of Filipino com-

petition by the grant of independence. Not much is said about the motives actuating the Filipinos themselves and generally one has the impression that the emphasis in the book ought to be reflected by changing the title to read "The United States and the Philippines." It is in fact a study of American policy largely from American sources.

There is a curious insistence that in the final grant of independence the United States was motivated in part by a desire to expose the islands to exploitation by American capital. The attempt to stabilize a free peso by linking it with the dollar is stigmatized also. It is possible perhaps to regard the imposition of maximum export quotas to the United States as prompted by a shortsighted protection to American primary producers, though the quotas have proved adequate so far. The facts do not indicate any great desire of United States industrialists to invest in the Philippines. It is indeed difficult to arouse their interest on any significant scale. And it is hard for an economist to believe that the Philippine economy would have profited from an unstable peso. When the pinch came, the United States acquiesced in exchange control and even in a tax collected by the central bank on exchange receipts. The economic troubles of the Philippines, which are the root cause of the present threat to its political stability, do not stem from American imperialism. They should be sought in analysis from the Filipino side of the weaknesses both of political and of economic organization in the islands themselves.

J. B. CONDLIFFE

University of California

Berkeley

DOBBY, E. H. G. *Southeast Asia*. Pp. 415. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1951. \$5.00.

Professor Dobby calls his volume "one of the first studies of locational perspectives in Southeast Asia." But his work is of more general interest than this technical description might suggest. What he has done essentially is to assemble in clear, compact, and well-organized form a mass

of useful data about the geography and economic life of the region. This result is a work that students of Asia will find valuable in many contexts.

The volume is divided into three broad sections. The first part, on the natural landscape, discusses the geologic structure, climate, drainage patterns, and soils of the region. In the second part, comprising about two-thirds of the text, the author takes up the separate political units in succession, dealing not only with their physical features, but especially with many aspects of their economic life. The chapters on Malaya, for example, range in content from an analysis of the main rock formations and a description of the atmosphere of a rubber plantation to a listing of Malaya's chief edible fish and a discussion of the evolution of the life of the peninsula. In the final part of the book the author again considers the region as a whole, devoting separate chapters to agriculture, fisheries, industry and trade, and the general politics and prospects of Southeast Asia.

Professor Dobby's precise, lean style, hardly involving a wasted word, has a literary quality that breaks through the technical barriers of his subject matter, especially since his personal familiarity with the territory he is writing about subtly flavors many descriptions. The book is notable for its emphasis on detail, including not only the main facts about the countries of the area, but also a wealth of specific material not readily available elsewhere. From this material a picture emerges of a region of unparalleled diversity in stages of development and people—a region whose economic life has been shaped to a striking degree by the impact of the West and its demands for minerals and agricultural products. In the final chapter on general politics and prospects there are some weaknesses, such as the suggestion (with regard to the people of Southeast Asia) that "a congenial poverty may ultimately prove the normal and agreeable thing for them, as it was in the 16th century." Nothing seems less likely than that in modern Asia poverty will prove "con-

genial" and "agreeable." Fortunately, the author's viewpoint on this question does not vitiate the main content of a valuable geographical work.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

New York City

ISAACS, HAROLD R. *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*. Pp. xv, 382. Rev. ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951. \$5.00.

This famous history of Chinese events in 1925-27 was first published in England in 1938. Now, with numerous revisions, it appears under an American imprint. In the process of revision it has lost nothing of its bitter bite and highly polemical tone, although on issues and questions relatively minor to the principal argument it reflects some change of viewpoint. The original edition was uniformly labelled "Trotskyist," a conclusion induced by Trotsky's Introduction to it—which is now deleted. As Isaacs puts it, the revision "no longer accepts his [Trotsky's] conclusions and cannot be characterized as Trotskyist" (p. xii). But whether Trotskyist or not, the book remains sharply anti-Stalinist in slant.

To Isaacs, "the tragedy of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 lay precisely in the fact that it took place within the same period of years during which the Russian national dictatorship was coming into being" (p. 51). This "Russian-made debacle . . . [not only] imposed upon China the heavy burden of the Kuomintang regime" (p. xi); it exacted tremendous toll of the revolutionary forces of China, and it developed for the present leaders of the Chinese Communist party concepts of bureaucratic power modeled more closely upon those of the Stalin machine than upon those of the nascent native Communism of earlier years in China. Writing as a self-styled "democratic socialist," apparently sympathetic to less adulterated forms of Marxism than now prevail in the Stalinite world, Isaacs is brought to this condemnation:

"The Russian Communist party under Stalin had taken many years to divest itself of its proletarian roots and ideology

and to become a power machine rooted in the new ruling bureaucratic caste. [In consequence of the Stalinite heritage derived from the catastrophe of 1927,] the Chinese Communist party came to power already equipped to play this role, already fashioned into a power mechanism with an almost unique capacity to balance itself among and above the classes of the population" (p. 309). In both cases, proletarian revolution had been subverted by bureaucratic power.

Because they plunged with their Russian associates down the "blind alley of totalitarianism," the Chinese Communists become targets for Isaacs' pointful analysis and scornful derision. None of the analysis, however, offers comfort for the Kuomintang, from whom nothing but duplicity and treachery—to the proletarian cause—could ever have been expected. The Western democracies also come under attack for the shortsightedness of their China policies, although Isaacs infers that enlightened Western statesmanship may yet save the day. This, perhaps, is the point where Isaacs departs basically from the Trotskyist position. But however the arguments are weighed, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* reminds us of the impact of nearly-forgotten historic events, and remains a work of primary historic significance. So far as it incorporates Isaacs' conversations with leading participants it is actually source material.

H. ARTHUR STEINER

University of California
Los Angeles

WEBER, MAX. *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*. Translated and edited by Hans H. Gerth. Pp. xi, 308. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951. \$4.50.

Max Weber, the great German scholar, has contributed many ideas to the social sciences. There are writers who have taken, without acknowledgement, some of his concepts, and called them original. His *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* is the thesis of an American school of economics. His *Theory of Social and Economic Organization* has wide-

spread influence. His *General Economic History*, containing the brilliant chapter, "Evolution of the Capitalistic Spirit," is a standard work. His *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*, as translated and edited by Professor Hans H. Gerth, will appeal to all interested in world cultures.

The Religion of China contains three parts. Part One considers Chinese money, central government and local officialdom, feudal and fiscal organization, and the general features of capitalism. Part Two will delight the sinologue with its discussions of the literati, the development of the educational system, the examination techniques, the "gentleman" ideal, the prestige of officialdom, views on economic policies, and sultanism and the eunuchs as political opponents of the literati. This section also contains a brilliant interpretation of the Confucian life orientation, constructed on a foundation composed of myriad-colored designs Weber has characterized as bureaucracy and hierocracy, absence of natural law and formal logic of legal thought, indifference to the natural sciences, the inner-worldly nature of Confucianism, the central concept of propriety, piety, the Confucian attitude toward the economy and rejection of the professional expert, the significance of the Chinese classics, the "pathos" of early Confucianism, and its pacifist character.

Part Three considers Taoism, a portion of the book which will appeal mainly to the student of comparative religions. There are pages devoted to doctrine and ritual in China, anchoritism and Lao-tzu, Tao and mysticism, the contrast between the orthodox and heterodox schools, the Taoist hierocracy, the general position of Buddhism, the systematic rationalization of magic, the ethic of Taoism, and sects and the persecution of heresies in China.

The conclusions of this study, entitled "Confucianism and Puritanism," are Weber at his best. "Confucianism hallowed alone those human obligations of piety created by inter-human relations, such as prince and servant, higher and lower official, father and son, brother and brother, teacher and pupil, friend and friend. Puri-

tan ethic, however, rather suspected these purely personal relationships as pertaining to the creatural; but Puritanism, of course, did allow for their existence and

ethically controlled them so far as they were not against God" (p. 241).

THOMAS E. ENNIS
West Virginia University

In the September 1950 issue of THE ANNALS, devoted to "Moscow's European Satellites," in an article entitled "Political Emigration from Iron Curtain Countries," written by Dr. Feliks Gross, there appeared on page 183 a reference to SRBSKA NARODNA OBRANA. The editors of THE ANNALS wish to assure the members, readers, and subscribers that there was no intention in this article to refer to the Serbian National Defense Council of America or any of its officers or members.

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